

The New
REPUBLIC

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The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOLUME I

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IN an interesting letter published in another column of this issue, Mr. Robert Herrick states as the first and presumably the most important lesson of the present war that the "one sure way to precipitate war is to prepare for it." The inference from this assertion is that the best way to avoid war is not to prepare for it. American history does not encourage us to accept this inference. The United States was absurdly unprepared for war in 1812, but its unpreparedness did not prevent it from going to war with a light heart. It was relatively still more unprepared when President Cleveland challenged England in 1896, but every one who remembers the public sentiment of that time knows that the overwhelming inferiority of effective naval force would not have prevented this country from fighting. We were saved from war by the forbearance of England, not by the pacifism of unpreparedness. Finally, we went to war with Spain about two years later without having made any previous preparation, and consequently a great many thousand American lives were unnecessarily sacrificed. Nations do not avoid war by preparing for war, but neither do they avoid war by being unprepared for war. Lack of preparation means merely that when war comes the disarmed nation is either more likely to be beaten, or, if successful, is successful at a heavier cost. The way to avoid war is not to disarm, but to adopt any means which are necessary to eradicate the causes of unrighteous war. What the present convulsion does demonstrate is, as ex-President Eliot of Harvard says, the impotence towards permanent peace of international law without sanctions, of pious wishes, of economic and biological predictions, and of public opinion unless expressed through an agreement behind which stands an international force. The conclusion is, as Mr. Eliot also says, that "when that international force has been permanently established it will be time to

THIS is a bad time for propaganda. Propaganda lives by the assertion that its particular goal at the moment is the most important issue in the world. No preacher of reform can argue with any effect that what he wishes to see realized is of tenth-rate significance, yet that is just about where most movements find themselves in these days. How to restore peace and how to relieve immediate want are absorbing most of the energy of reform; unless a particular reform can demonstrate some close relation to these two problems, it will fail to attract much attention. Yet good causes cannot afford to close up shop. They must bid against each other for remnants of public enthusiasm, attach themselves as best they can to the larger passions of the war. The suffragists, perhaps, have the best chance to do this. They can promise with perfect sincerity that political power for women will introduce into government a finer sense of human values, and confront the reckless diplomacy of men with a personal recognition of its costs.

OF all words in the vocabulary of politics none is so easily used as economy; it may mean anything from sheer niggardliness to the intelligent spending of money, a policy of penny-wise and pound-foolish or a real intention of making effective the public revenue. In criticism of the Federal Government the word economy must mean not a reduction of public services, but a more concentrated, deliberately planned use of the money to be spent. This of course implies something more than a general paring down of the estimates amidst the barking of Treasury watch-dogs. As Mr. Taft pointed out the other day in his speech before the Lawyers' Club in New York, economy implies the development of a system by which the responsibility for the year's expenditure can be centered in the

policy, economy in politics will mean either a brick to hit your opponent with or a panic-stricken attempt to pander to the taxpayer. The country owes a good deal to Mr. Taft for having made so clear the only course by which wise economy can be effected. By putting his finger upon the lack of financial leadership in the government, by pointing out that sensible appropriations for a central government cannot be log-rolled out of the local interests of men who do not have to spend the money, Mr. Taft has diagnosed the essential weakness of our administrative system.

IT is significant that a Democratic Postmaster-General, like his Republican predecessor, brings forward a plan to nationalize our telegraph and telephone systems. Such a proposal from such a source indicates that our states' rights doctrine is dying of old age, and will not much longer form a serious obstacle to a policy of nationalization. But it is doubtful if the present time is propitious for such a taking over of the telegraph and telephone. Our telephone system is still in a period of rapid experimentation, where private initiative, under effective government regulation both of services and rates, is more likely to be fruitful than government ownership. As for the telegraph, which in recent decades has developed so slowly and at present faces a growing competition from the telephone, we should be ill-advised to invest in an industry with so dubious a future.

FOR some time observers who love their country but like to leave it occasionally have been complaining about the way this great nation houses its diplomatic representatives abroad. Judging from these critics, the directions for finding our ambassador in a European capital are something like this: Walk until you reach that magnificent edifice which represents imperial Roumania, thence three blocks east to the bird store and ask the boy; on the fourth floor rear you will find the United States embassy but not the ambassador, because he is probably out on a bicycle delivering diplomatic notes. This issue, somehow, never burned very brightly. It was the prevailing American opinion that one did not require a large space to be diplomatic in—at least diplomatic enough for mere foreigners. We admitted that we were not supporting our representatives in the style to which they were accustomed, but we were singularly unexcited about it. When the international crisis came, those roomy European embassies seemed fairly congested with inefficiency. If we may credit recent reports, many a foreign ambassador whose place of business looks

Dykes and Pages, once confronted with real tasks, lifted the cat out of the office chair and performed them amid admiration that was not confined to their own countrymen. Now—such is the interesting construction of the American mind—having disproved the efficacy of large establishments, we shall no doubt proceed to build some.

SO many subjects were given honorable mention in the President's message and in the administration program that it was rather surprising to find unemployment ignored. Many people are asking the reason. Certainly no more acute problem is immediately before the country. In human importance it far outweighs for the moment either the conservation of water power or the proposed shipping bill. It is the evil above all others from which wretchedness and despair are flowing, about which every person who looks ahead is now troubled, and about which even the least sensitive will be disturbed when the unemployed begin to clash with the police. Unemployment, moreover, cannot be dealt with by local effort alone. The essential machinery even for a beginning is a national organization of the labor market. A proposal looking towards this is before Congress in the Murdock Bill. In view of all this, how can an administration claim to be meeting the country's emergency when it is silent upon its most urgent need? Is it simply that the Democrats are too busy, or is it that they are afraid for political reasons to face the fact that bad times are upon us? If they tell us that their program is too full, they will have to admit that they themselves have filled it; they seem prepared, for example, to rush into a somewhat offhand reversal of our immigration policy. If, however, they simply do not wish to confess that business can be bad under Democratic rule, they will only make it worse by this policy of averted eyes.

WE are coming to recognize in this country that the real cure for corruption and ineptitude in politics is not to seek out abstractly honest men, but to draw into the public service men of a scientific tradition and public imagination. Such men have a revolutionary effect on the ordinary small change of politics. The little personal bargainings and clan loyalties, the windings of old habits and formalisms, do not impede the thinking of men who have a genuine technical sense of what it means to face facts and carry out a job. The spirit of the engineer, his pride in himself as a representative of a new way of dealing with issues, is the most effective answer to the dreary, unkempt

holder with the qualities manifest in an address such as that made by Morris Cooke, Director of Public Works in Philadelphia, at the annual meeting of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers. The simplicity and directness of tone are in themselves effective, but what is most important perhaps is the awareness of the relation between the layman and the expert. "It is one of our duties as technical men to carry on a propaganda which will show to the public the difference between those problems of policy and public interest that are properly settled by public opinion and those scientific problems which are improperly settled unless they are settled according to the facts." Further on Mr. Cooke overthrows the greatest danger of the expert, that picture of him as the keeper of esoteric mysteries. "I admit," he says, "that as a part of my work as a public official I put in a great deal of thought on what may be quite properly called advertising."

THE annual report of Postmaster-General Burleson again raises the question whether the magazines of the country should receive a concealed subsidy from the Post Office and how large that subsidy should be. In the fiscal year just ended, over one billion pounds of newspapers and periodicals were carried at the flat rate of one cent per pound, although, according to the Congressional Commission created in 1911, the cost of carrying this second class matter was six cents a pound, and the total loss to the Government fifty millions a year. Mr. Burleson now proposes that the rate for magazines be increased to two cents, while the rate for newspapers remain one cent. We see no excuse for this exception in favor of newspapers. Nor do we see any reason why the higher rate, two cents per pound, should not be made applicable to magazines. It may be desirable in the interest of the dissemination of news to carry magazines and newspapers at a rate lower than cost, but there are limits to such a policy of subsidy. The legitimate interests of newspapers and periodicals would not be destroyed by the adoption of a flat rate of two cents.

WHAT is there about certain American contrivances that makes them the victim of popular jocularities? For a long time it was the railroads that came in for most of this chaff. There was a famous ballad about the B. & O., which could either be sung straight or accompanied by a sort of sea-lion flip-flop, highly ornamental. It began with the disingenuous statement: "The B. & O. is the best by far," and one verse ended with a plain advertisement: "Reaching Kokomo in two direct

and Eve built the Erie." This was sung without a dance, to the funeral march. The new butt is the automobile, with humor centering on one of the cheaper cars. They say that a man recently tried in vain to dispose of one of these cars after two months' use, but although he advertised it at a very low figure he did not receive a single answer. The car got on his nerves and he finally decided to get rid of it by advertising that he would leave it unprotected all night on his front lawn. When he pulled up the blind in the morning it was still there, with four others of the same make.

A VALIANT fly dipped his six legs in pure color and started to crawl over the fly-paper which protects a dozing world from needless buzzing. The paper was sticky and the fly struggled furiously. This is impressionism. A student found all the broken pieces of a young world. He plastered them joyfully into a brilliant mosaic. But the cracks were wider than his vision. This is post-impressionism. A child was given a birthday gift. He began to build a new world with many brand new blocks. This is cubism. A young man rushed toward the future. The future, like a friendly giant, intending an embrace, hit him clean between the eyes. This is futurism. A Chinese god stretched his bronze limbs and flew over many deserts for a night's chat with the sphinx. They smiled over an ancient secret. And that was art.

"NOBODY but men stop to rubber at this." "This" is a comely maiden in a drug-store on Broadway who sits in the window by the hour, folding and unfolding a convertible pocketbook. For all the crowd cares, it is a padded fly-trap the girl is demonstrating, invented by the anti-cruelty society in advance of next June. They would stop just as long if she were advertising a cut-price gas plant, convertible into a greenhouse or a musical conservatory. It is the prettiness of the large-eyed girl that rivets them to the window, and holds them as she lifts those eyes and lets them fall. A clever advertisement, do you think? Clever indeed. And will the proprietor be willing to put his wife there next week, and his young daughter the week after? Broadway would "rubber" all the more eagerly if a sign hung behind the smiling woman: "Look her over, boys. She's my wife."

A PORTRAIT of the pig, by M. Paul Claudel, offered without animus in an earlier number of this publication, has been taken very unkindly by the *Kansas City Times*. Stigmatizing this restrained picture as "injustice to the hog," our contemporary rushes temerarily to the defense of

hog. We like the hog. We like him broiled best, but we like him fried, baked or even boiled. We like his head, his hams, his chops and his trotters. It is, however, as an animate fellow-creature that our contemporary would thrust him upon us, and this we resist. M. Claudel remarks of the hog that "his tastes do not run to the transient perfumes of flowers." Our Western friend asks querulously, how does he know, how does anybody know? In the same way, we answer, in which we know and deprecate the musical insensitiveness of the snail. It is true, mayhap, that a hog is not all gluttonous, that he cannot be induced to eat a pawpaw. But is this refusal really a sign of "potential refinement"? Do not the inhabitants of Kansas eat pawpaws, and are they not potentially refined? We admit that in depicting a wallowing hog M. Claudel ignored the genteel modern hog moping on a concrete foundation. But while this effete type exists, it is our opinion that only a pure optimist would credit to the hog himself the refinement that he suffers, without initiative, referendum or recall, on a model farm. We assert that on this delicate subject M. Claudel was perspicacious, sedate, admirably free from hysteria; and we affirm a melancholy belief that there is a profound if marble-hearted wisdom in the paradox that the only way to cure a hog is, first of all, to kill him.

ARE we not prone, in view of the unexpected efficiency of the submarines, to exaggerate the role which these boats are likely to play in maritime warfare? Already men are opposing the construction of all new battleships, and are suggesting that the only secure place for a dreadnought is a safe-deposit vault. The increase in cruising range and in general effectiveness of the under-water boat cannot of course be denied, but in the great naval battles of the war we have heard nothing at all from the submarine. While it may continue to succeed in naval sniping, in picking off an occasional battleship, it is probable that when finally the German and British fleets engage, if they ever do engage, the victory will depend far less on the submarine than upon the dreadnought and super-dreadnought.

MOVING pictures taken in Belgium by the *Chicago Tribune* and now being shown make evident one absurdity of modern fighting. It is happening on streets where anyone might live, along country roads where anyone might go bicycling. That men should be wrecking towns in the midst of trolley-cars and restaurants and bookshops and policemen makes war look more like the Baltimore fire than anything else. One contribution to documentary history, however, is made by these pictures,

Agricultural Credit

THAT the administration will do its utmost to secure a reform of the agricultural credit system cannot be doubted. It remains to be seen whether the habits of mind and the political principles of the party in power are such as to fit it well for the task.

Banking reform and rural credit reform appear at first inspection to be closely related problems. Examined in detail, however, the two problems disclose fundamental differences. Banking reform involved the reconciliation of differences of opinion—often extreme and bitter, to be sure—but not of conflicting interests. There was never a question of the interests of the borrowers versus those of the lenders, of the interests of finance versus those of industry. The agricultural credit problem, on the other hand, bristles with conflicting interests. The farmer demands relief from what he considers heavy rates on agricultural loans and the onerous conditions attending such loans; from the still higher rates on personal loans, and from the extortionate prices of supplies and machinery resulting from the system of book credits.

Again, the reform of the banking system involved not the creation of new resources, but the mobilization of resources already existing. It was not lack of banking reserves that threatened widespread disaster in time of panic, but such an irrational disposition of reserves as made it possible for hostile forces to conquer the banks in detail. Accordingly the problem admitted of a mechanical solution, entirely in harmony with the classical economic logic that has always appealed so powerfully to Democratic leadership. The crux of the rural situation is the scarcity of loan funds. The borrower is forced to pay high interest rates and to accept conditions, such as the early maturity of the loan, that place his whole property in jeopardy, simply because there is so little capital to be had. The problem is one of diverting funds from other fields of investment, whether through governmental subsidies or otherwise; and this is a problem not easily to be solved through application of the principles of *laissez faire* or of the New Freedom.

Finally, it is impossible to overlook the fact that social-political, rather than economic motives give force to the demand for agricultural credit. The American farmer does not ask regulation of the price of hired labor. His grievance is that inadequate credit handicaps him in his efforts to gain independence and maximum efficiency, and thus expels him, if he is an ambitious man, from the field of agriculture.

So long as we had unlimited free land on the fron-

establish a home of his own. To-day he serves as a hired laborer until he has accumulated sufficient capital and credit to set himself up as a tenant, in which stage he remains until he can make the first payment on a farm of his own, reduce the mortgage indebtedness, and finally, if he is successful, be possessed of an unencumbered farm. Agricultural credit thus plays a part to-day analogous with the part played by the frontier in an earlier time.

If it were impossible for the young farmer to secure machinery and supplies on credit, he would hardly be able to enter upon the tenant stage before his thirtieth year. If it were impossible to purchase land under mortgage, he would be well past middle life before he could hope to live on his own land. The independent farmer has been an essential bulwark of American democracy, and his fortunes are far more than a purely economic issue. A rural credit system that involves exorbitantly high charges on personal loans prolongs the wage-laborer stage in the farmer's life; together with high interest on mortgage loans, it prolongs the tenant stage and the stage of encumbered ownership. And the prolonging of these stages does not merely postpone the attainment of complete ownership; it discourages effort, and forces the acceptance of a permanently inferior status. The agricultural credit system is all that stands between us and the formation of permanent classes of agricultural laborers and tenants. Accordingly it behooves us to make it as efficient socially as possible.

The independence of the farmer is not, however, the only issue involved. It is important that he should secure an unencumbered holding, but it is hardly less important that this holding should be of appropriate size and well stocked, else he will have scant reward for his thrift. Recent investigations have shown that the typical American farm is a capital unit too small for efficiency. In the northern half of the United States the farmer with property worth less than four thousand dollars usually makes little more than bare wages. He would be better off economically if he sold his land, put the money at interest, and hired himself out by the month. A farmer operating property worth twelve thousand dollars has an excellent chance of prosperity. The enormous waste in agriculture from farms that are too small or inadequately equipped is closely bound up with the system that makes it hazardous to acquire capital through loans.

In commerce and industry the man who proves unusually efficient readily secures through loans all the capital he needs. It is this process of concentration of control in the hands of the more efficient that lies at the root of modern business progress. In agriculture the man of recognized effi-

affected, if at all, by his ability to make the land yield good returns. Personal efficiency may receive a certain recognition in the form of more liberal loans from local banks, but short-term loans are not well adapted to agricultural needs. On the whole, the control of capital by the efficient farmer is increased only as he accumulates savings. This fact has much to do with the relative unprogressiveness of agriculture. Given a similar situation in commerce and industry, and they would still be in the eighteenth century stage.

Agricultural credit is thus very far from a mere problem in finance. It is desirable to provide agriculture with cheaper and more abundant capital; but this is not the essential point. Much more depends on the proper distribution of the capital to be loaned. Suppose that a vast capital were raised through the sale of government bonds and loaned at low rates. Let us suppose loans are made not to all comers, but only to those whose objects are in harmony with clearly conceived social interests. Cheap money would be available for the tenant who wished to become an owner, but not for the owner who wished to possess himself of an automobile for pleasure, although the security offered by the latter might be equally good. Such a system, moreover, might be employed in the control of agricultural production. It might withhold funds from communities persisting in a ruinous specialization upon a single crop, and dispense them freely in communities following a more rational plan. Under such a system, our government would not confine itself to the dissemination of tons of advice—good advice, as a rule, which cannot be accepted for want of funds—but would assume a partnership with the farmer in the social work of improvement.

All this, it may be said, smacks of Utopianism. From the point of view of *laissez-faire* economics, such a plan is indeed Utopian. Let us remember, however, how readily we accept analogous policies when applied in other fields. We are loud in our praises of German and Japanese efficiency in foreign trade. A large part of this efficiency is due to the fact that those nations, when seeking to cultivate trade in a given region, throw overboard the theory of the adequacy of private interest. Branches of banking institutions subsidized and controlled by the home government are established in the regions to be developed and these offer abundant and cheap capital to their nationals for every project, in trade or mining or manufacturing, that shows promise. Is not the cultivation of corn in Texas as important to us as the bean trade in Manchuria to the Japanese? It is mere tradition that makes the foreign field seem a more proper subject of governmental solicitude than the domestic

perity will take care of itself. But it is a tradition that has a powerful hold on us all; more powerful, perhaps, on the party in power than on any other. Accordingly, we may wonder what are the odds that the achievements of the present administration in the field of agricultural credit will parallel its achievements in banking reform.

Railroad Regulation on Trial

ACCORDING to the newspaper reports, the railroads are to obtain their increase in income. The obstinate resistance of the Interstate Commerce Commission to a generally higher level of rates has finally been worn down. In all probability the demands of the railroads have not been granted as completely as the newspapers intimate. The Interstate Commerce Commission must have attached certain conditions to its concession, but whatever the conditions, the decision will be interpreted as a victory for the railroads. Assuming that the railroads have won a victory, what effect will it have on the relations between the railroads and the nation? Will it help or hinder the prevailing principle and method of railroad regulation?

Public opinion will probably acquiesce in the decision with comparatively little protest. What most of our fellow-citizens want more than anything else at present is greater business activity, and if the increase in railroad rates contributes to a trade revival, the opponents of the increase will not get much of a hearing. But even though public opinion does acquiesce in the decision of the Commission, such acquiescence merely removes the most conspicuous cause of friction between the railroads and the nation. Other causes almost equally important will remain, and unless they are removed the principle and method of regulation will be so far unsuccessful that the alternative of national ownership will be forced on popular attention.

American public opinion needs to realize more sharply the difficulties and responsibilities of the existing experiment in national railroad regulation. It needs to realize that regulation will never be a success unless more arduous, loyal and intelligent efforts are made to bring about success. An industry so vast and complicated as that of the railroads can never be converted into a genuine public utility against its own will by a series of merely disciplinary measures on the part of a supervisory commission. The regulation of such an industry by an administrative authority in the public interest implies a readiness to cooperate for certain purposes on the part of the directors of the industry and of the public authorities. It implies also that the ad-

be organized and equipped in order to meet the great number and wide diversity of its responsibilities. Up to date such cooperation, such adequacy of power and such efficiency of organization have not been secured.

The railroads on their part have been persistently sulky and obdurate. They have admitted the necessity of regulation in words, but have opposed any effective application of the principle. They have never consented until consent was forced upon them. Neither have they shown any disposition to meet the Commission half way and voluntarily provide remedies for manifest abuses. They continued to give illegal rebates until the practice became dangerous. They continued to distribute passes until forced to abandon the practice. It has taken legislative acts or administrative orders to introduce improvements into the rate structure, to bring about the general use of safety devices, and to install a scientific accounting system. In spite of the general acceptance at the present time of the desirability of regulation, railroad directors are still far from adjusting themselves to the idea that the roads are primarily public servants rather than sources of private profit.

On the other hand, the railroad directors may fairly complain that they were not justified in accepting many recent administrative orders, and in even trying to cooperate with many of their administrative masters. The railroads have been unpopular and in the name of regulation they have been worried and baited because of their unpopularity. The state legislatures and railroad commissions are responsible for most of this worrying. They have been as aggressive in regulating the railroads in the interest of their own states as the Interstate Commerce Commission has been in the national interest, and Congress has so far neglected or refused to make the authority of the national authority paramount. The Interstate Commerce Commission has not the power to convert the railroad system into an essentially national utility and to protect it against the exasperating and injurious exercise of local public authority. The railroads can fairly complain that, unlike public utilities, they suffer all the disadvantages of regulation without enjoying any of its advantages. Legally they are still supposed to be competing economic units. They are not allowed to enter into agreements for the purpose of establishing rates, dividing territory or reducing unnecessary expenses. They are denied the privileges needed for the successful operation of a genuine national utility.

The railroads can probably be converted into loyal and efficient national utilities, but not by any means which Congress has as yet authorized or to

trative policeman that interferes from the outside with all the details of their management. It must be partly the work of the railroad directors themselves, and the railroad directorate is never likely to undertake it until its form has been reorganized. What the Interstate Commerce Commission needs is representation on the boards of all interstate railroads, so that it will know what is being done and have a voice in the actual management of the companies. An expedient of this kind might abate the unpopularity of the companies, provide for a better understanding between them and the Commission, and bring about the cooperation which is essential to the success of the existing policy of regulation.

THE NEW REPUBLIC would like to see the existing policy of regulation succeed. Not that it has any preference in favor of regulation as contrasted with public ownership. On the contrary, it anticipates that eventually the railroads will have to be owned by the nation, and operated, subject to national control, by an organization of railroad employees. But precisely because it believes in eventual nationalization, it would like to have a fairer trial given to the current experiment in regulation. Nationalization, whenever it comes, should not be adopted as a desperate alternative to an unsuccessful policy of regulation, but as a consummation and fulfillment of the very work of regulation itself. A regulation which succeeded in converting the railroads into loyal and efficient national utilities without impairing their credit would have done much to nationalize them in substance if not in name.

Pan-Americanism

GREAT crises bring with them extraordinary opportunities. The war in Europe can be made to advance the cause of peace in America. It provides our statesmen with a unique chance of reaching a better understanding with Latin America and of converting Pan-Americanism from a word and an aspiration into a more definitely formulated international system. James G. Blaine began this work. Elihu Root carried it on. But they could only indicate the direction. The practicable road has been revealed by the war; and it remains for the present administration to seize the opportunity and to compose an American international concert out of the materials furnished by European international discord.

What the two Americas need is a broader sanction and support for the permanently valuable idea contained in the M. D. R. The conference placed the United States

interpreted combined an admirable intention with a dangerous contingent liability and an ambiguous underlying meaning. Superficially it was nothing more than a declaration of the foreign policy of the United States with respect to Latin America, and it derived its standing from the ability of the United States to compel its recognition by other nations. At bottom, however, its validity really depended on a certain kind and amount of international acquiescence. Had it been challenged by Europe and the United States been compelled to fight on its behalf, Latin America would have been protected from its possible European enemies only to be in part subjected by its American friend. The republics to the south of us have always understood and apprehended this danger. They united a keen appreciation of the utility of the Doctrine with an anxious suspicion of their powerful neighbor. They wanted protection without incurring the humiliation of being protected.

Fortunately Europe has never compelled the United States to fight on behalf of the Monroe Doctrine. The Latin American republics have enjoyed protection without any sacrifice of their independence. Some of them have been growing so strong and stable that they are much more capable than formerly of protecting themselves against either a European enemy or an American friend. Increasing national strength justifies them in assuming a different attitude towards the Monroe Doctrine. Their suspicious acquiescence in the Doctrine is capable of being transformed into active and responsible support, partly because their acquiescence has come to have a greater military value, and partly because their suspicions are disappearing. Thus the Doctrine may obtain the international sanction in this hemisphere which was needed both to minimize its dangers and to eradicate its ambiguities.

The behavior of the United States since the Spanish American War has naturally availed to diminish Latin American suspicion. This country had plausible excuses both to remain in Cuba and to intervene in Mexico—excuses which would have been used by an essentially aggressive power. But with the exception of one brief aberration we refrained from armed intervention, and when we did intervene we backed out of our exposed position with conscientious celerity. The acceptance of the A. B. C. mediation, and the conference at Niagara Falls, did more to transform the Monroe Doctrine and modify the relations of the United States with Latin America than any other recent act of our government except the building of the Panama Canal. The conference placed the United States

this way giving to the Doctrine a much more positive and express international sanction.

The European war increased the desire and the necessity for a cooperative international policy in the two Americas. It has revealed an unexpected community of interest among the American nations. The Monroe Doctrine has been vindicated. Latin America, in spite of its racial, cultural and commercial bonds with Europe, has discovered the existence of a still deeper bond with the United States. We Americans have the good luck to be emancipated from aggressive national ambitions and international hatreds and fears. Each American state has its place in the sun, and is occupied chiefly with the cultivation of its own garden. As long as Europe was at peace the importance of this distinction was undervalued, but it can be undervalued no longer. The war has proved that pacific and trading communities may gain a distinct advantage from close association for political and business purposes. If the Latin American countries had depended upon the United States chiefly for their capital, their supplies and their markets, none would have suffered as much as they have suffered from the economic effects of the war. In addition, the interests of all the American states as neutrals are similar, and they need to take joint action to secure the utmost practicable freedom for neutral commerce. These common interests and purposes are so substantial that it should be possible to embody them in some kind of American international declaration and convention.

Such a declaration and convention would constitute the beginning of a specifically American and intentionally pacific international system. It would be the first conscious and intelligent attempt to organize peace. Inasmuch as it is experimental and might operate in an unexpected and disconcerting manner, care should be taken to keep the agreement close to the foundation of national interest. The several contracting powers should not be committed to engagements which under the pressure of circumstances they would be likely to break. But even so, substantial results could be obtained. The organization should and could provide for some regular method of mutual consultation, for some better definition of neutral rights, for some form of occasional joint diplomatic action and finally for some way of adjusting their own possible disagreements.

By entering into such a system the United States would be making a greater sacrifice than would her Latin American sisters. She has the chance of gaining much more from isolation than they have, and the burden of morally and physically

tion, because only in this way can the Monroe Doctrine be relieved of its ambiguities and dangers. Only in this way can the Doctrine itself be morally justified. Pan-Americanism would then cease to be a mixture of rhetoric and geography and become a definite official international political program. It might grow until it converted the world to a pacific system of public law, or it might prove to be ineffectual and disappear. In any event it would constitute a justifiable attempt on the part of the New World, not merely, as in the days of Canning, to redress the balance of the Old World, but to repair some of its mistakes and to renounce some of its evils. If the attempt were successful the people of this country might gradually reconcile themselves to the lack of a national name, because whatever the United States might lose in freedom of political action, America would gain. Perhaps the day is coming when the word American will be a sufficiently, if not an entirely, accurate description of what the people of the United States really are.

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A Policy of Industrial Education

THE habitual American attitude towards public education is, to say the least, paradoxical.

Belief in publicly supported education is the most vital article of the average citizen's creed. Money devoted to educational purposes makes the largest item in the budget, and payment of taxes for school purposes is accompanied with the least amount of grumbling. The man who ridicules his legislature, who is suspicious of his judiciary and openly flouts his police system, is enthusiastic about public education. But the connection of the public with its schools ends for the most part with their support. There is next to no provision for public control, and that little is generally felt to be a nuisance when it extends its activities beyond the financial support of the schools under its nominal charge. The direction of educational policy is no part of statesmanship; the divorce of school from politics—which presumably means matters of public policy—is thought to represent the ideal state of things. Educators have reciprocated by taking an astonishingly slight interest in the public functions attached to their own work. Social settlements, amateur philanthropists and voluntary associations, rather than professional educators, have agitated the questions of child labor and juvenile crime, of adequate recreative facilities and the wider use of the school plant, and even of preparation for making a livelihood.

That our *laissez passer* methods have worked as well as they have indicates a certain soundness in our social life, as well as at least a temporary adaptation to our needs. That these methods will work as well in the future may be doubted. The formation by Congress of a Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education, composed of two Senators, two Representatives and five laymen, reflects both the traditional system and the feeling of need for its change. Not one of the five lay members is a professional educator. While the Commission recommends the giving of aid, and drafts a bill which would involve an initial annual grant to the states of a million and a half dollars, rising to the sum of seven millions through a period of years, there is no thought of provision for a minister of education. The Federal Board in control is to consist of the Postmaster-General, with the Secretaries of the Interior, of Agriculture, of Commerce and Labor. The Commissioner of Education is to remain an executive clerk, although with somewhat enlarged clerical duties. The proposal is characteristic of our tradition. We are far from the day when direction and supervision of publicly supported education will be a public function.

recommended. Legislative action is of doubtful value till the subject of industrial education has been more thoroughly discussed. It is more important that it be treated as part of a general statesmanlike policy toward education than that immediate isolated steps be taken for furthering the agricultural and trade instruction of youth over fourteen. There is as yet no public opinion as to the standpoint from which education for industry should be approached, or the aims which should control the undertaking. The reasons thus far advanced for making industrial training an organic part of public school education are an undigested medley. The need of a substitute for the disappearing apprenticeship system, the demand of employers for more skilled workers, the importance of special training if the United States is to hold its own in international competitive commerce, figure side by side with the educational need of making instruction more "vital" to pupils.

The oft-cited experience of Germany as to the importance of industrial education must be weighed in connection with the purpose which has dominated her efforts. This has been frankly nationalistic. The available statistics indicate that the effect of industrial education upon wages has been almost negligible, skilled workers receiving but little more than unskilled. But the effect of industrial education upon the worker's individual wage or happiness was not the animating motive. Germans claim with justice that their systematized and persistent applications of intelligence to military affairs, public education, civil administration, and trade and commerce, have a common root and a converging aim. The wellbeing of the state as a moral entity is supreme. The promotion of commerce against international competitors is one of the chief means of fostering the state. Industrial training is a means to this means, and one made peculiarly necessary by Germany's natural disadvantages.

One does not need to grudge admiration for the skill and success with which this policy has been pursued. But as a policy it is extraordinarily irrelevant to American conditions. We have neither the historic background nor the practical outlook which make it significant. There is grave danger that holding up as a model the educational methods by which Germany has made its policy effective will serve as a cloak, conscious or unconscious, for measures calculated to promote the interests of the employing class. It is the privilege of large employers of labor to supplement public schooling by classes which they themselves support in order to give the special knowledge and skill required in their business.

is every reason why the community should not permit them to do so. Class against class, there is no reason why the community should be more interested in the laboring class than in the employing class, save the important reason that the former constitutes a larger part of itself. But every ground of public policy protests against any use of the public school system which takes for granted the perpetuity of the existing industrial régime, and whose inevitable effect is to perpetuate it, with all its antagonisms of employer and employed, producer and consumer.

In the lack of enlightened public opinion as to the place of industrial training in the public schools in a would-be democracy, even the enumeration of commonplaces may be of some help; unfortunately they are not as yet current commonplaces. In the first place, its aim must be first of all to keep youth under educative influences for a longer time. Were it not for historic causes which explain the fact, it would be a disgrace that the larger portion of the school population leaves school at the end of the fifth or sixth grade. Irrespective of its causes, the continuance of this situation is a menace. Meagre as are the efforts already put forth in adapting industry to educational ends, it is demonstrated in Chicago, Gary and Cincinnati, that such adaptation is the first need for holding pupils in school and making their instruction significant to them. In these places the aim has not been to turn schools into preliminary factories supported at public expense, but to borrow from shops the resources and motives which make teaching more effective and wider in reach.

In the second place, the aim must be efficiency of industrial intelligence, rather than technical trade efficiency. Schemes for industrial education thus far propounded ignore with astonishing unanimity many of the chief features of the present situation. The main problem is not that of providing skilled workers in the superior crafts. Taken by itself, this is a comparatively simple problem. But it cannot be taken by itself, for the reason that these crafts are the ones already best organized and most jealous of efforts to recruit their numbers beyond the market demand, and for the reason also that automatic machinery is constantly invading the province of specially trained skill of hand and eye. Wherever automatic machines develop, high specialization of work follows. In the larger cities even the building trades now represent a grouping of a very large number of separate occupations, demanding for the most part simply skill in managing machines. The automobile is a complicated machine, nevertheless ninety-five per cent of the labor of manufacture in the cheaper cars is unskilled. Such facts are typical. The rapid change by means of new inventions of the forms of machine industry is another controlling consideration. The mobility of the laboring population in passing from one mode of machine work to

chief purpose is to develop initiative and personal resources of intelligence. The same forces which have broken down the apprenticeship system render futile a scholastic imitation of it.

In a word, the problem in this country is primarily an educational one and not a business and technical one as in Germany. It is nothing less than the problem of the reorganization of the public school to meet the changed conditions due to the industrial revolution. In view of this consideration, the absence of all educators from the Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education has a peculiar significance. Professional educators are not free from blame, because of their indisposition to face the question of educational reorganization. But to leave educators out of the discussion of an educational problem is a curious proceeding. They will have to take a large share in the execution of any plan which may be adopted. If they cannot be trusted to have a responsible share in the making of the plan, the chances of their successful execution of it are indeed slight. The situation also adds peculiar significance to the fact that the Commissioner of Education is made by the bill an executive clerk of various departments of the Government which have direct concern with certain forms of industry but none with education. It is not an immediately important question whether there be a minister of education in the Cabinet. It is a fundamentally important question whether or no a Federal policy with respect to industrial education be initiated which relegates the educational interest to the background.

JOHN DEWEY.

Life is Cheap

WHEN a military expert wishes to be very technical and professional he refers to the killed, wounded and missing as the wastage of an army. To those who do not share his preoccupation with the problems of grand strategy, the word connotes a cold and calculated horror based on a fatal disregard of human cost. It is natural, then, to fall back upon the old platitude that in war life is cheap; cheaper than guns, cheaper than dreadnoughts, cheaper even than intelligent diplomacy.

If we go behind this simple idea, however, we find curious distinctions reflected in ordinary feeling about the war. There was General Joffre's statement that the French would not waste men in furious assaults. In England this was received with approval, mixed with the feeling that the British were standing the worst of the racket. Most curious, however, was the English attitude towards the Russians. The Russians were conceived as an inexhaustible horde which could be poured end-against-end against German guns. The value of indi-

beside the loss of two thousand Englishmen. If the Canadians were to suffer heavily, we should feel it still more, no doubt.

When the *Titanic* sank, it was very noticeable that the anguish of the first-cabin passengers meant more to the newspapers than did that of the crew or steerage; and of the first-cabin passengers, it was the well-known people in whom was dramatized the full terror of the disaster. When a man is run over, the amount of space given to a report of the accident seems to depend very closely either on his social importance in the community, or on whether he is injured under circumstances which might apply to highly regarded elements of the population. The injuries of foreign-born laborers on construction work are hardly reported. It is estimated that one man is killed for every floor added to a skyscraper, but the fact does not rise to the level of popular interest. The value of a life seems to increase only as it emerges from a mass and becomes individualized. So long as great populations remain politically inert, so long as they can be treated in lumps, so long as they can be manipulated from above, they will be lightly used or easily disregarded.

It is in time of peace that the value of life is fixed. The test of war reveals it. That is why democracies tend to be peaceful. In them the importance of each person has been enlarged, and the greater the equality, the less able are small groups to use their fellows as brute instruments. Democracies are compelled to look toward peaceful adjustments because the cost of war is too tremendous for them. The mere fact that at a certain level of comfort and self-respect the birth-rate declines makes the conservation of life imperative. It is in democracies based on fairly well distributed economic opportunity and a modicum of education that birth ceases to be a wholesale accident and becomes a considered purpose. France is such a democracy, and France does not spend life easily. The large measure of equality which she has achieved by a prudent birth-rate, a tolerable level of well-being, and a tradition of human rights, has made dreams of lavish conquest forever impossible to her. She will defend what she has with superb courage, but she cannot dominate the world.

There, perhaps, is the most important relation between social reform and the problem of peace. The aggressors of the future are likely to be the nations in which life is cheap, and the hope of international order rests with those countries in whom personality has become too valuable to be squandered. This is why the whole world waits the democratization of Germany, Russia and Japan.

But even the so-called democracies are far from a decent sense of the value of life. Here in America life is extraordinarily cheap. There is almost no task so dull, so degrading or so useless but you can find plenty of human beings to do it. You can hire a man to walk up and down the avenue carry-

chorus, just standing them there to fill up space. You can hire a man to sit next to the chauffeur; he is called a footman and his purpose is to make the owner of the car a bit more comfortable and a great deal more magnificent. There are women known as lady's maids whose business it is to dress up other women. There are flunkies whose mission it is to powder their hair, put on white stockings and gold-trimmed knee-breeches and flank the threshold of great houses. It is possible to hire any number of caretakers for empty houses, bell-hops to fetch for you, even mourners to mourn for you.

Every city is full of women whose lives are gray with emptiness, who sit for hours looking out of the window, who rock their chairs and gossip, and long for the excitement that never comes. Unloved and unloving, and tragically unused, the world seems to have passed them by. Our cities are full of those caricatured homes, the close, curtained boarding houses to which people come from the day's drudgery to the evening's depression, the thousands of hall bedrooms in which hope dies and lives the ghost of itself in baseball scores and in movies, in the funny page and in Beatrice Fairfax, in purchased romance and in stunted reflections of the music-hall.

It is not strange that in war we spend life so easily, or that our anxiety to lower the death-rate of babies, to keep the sick alive, to help the criminal and save the feeble-minded, seems to many a trifling humanitarianism. The notion that every person is sacred, that no one is a means to some one else's end, this sentiment which is the heart of democracy, has taken only slight hold upon the modern world. It is still hardly questioned that men should die to protect concessions, to collect debts, to hold markets, to glorify their king, to avenge imaginary insults. In the industrial world men are used as "hands," kept waiting in idle crowds to fill casual jobs, put at work that exhausts and pays almost nothing, blocked in occupations from which they cannot learn, from which they become forever unfitted to escape. Women are used as drudges, as recreation, as things to jest about or to appropriate, because all through our civilization there runs an appalling insensitivity and disregard. We have not yet made life dignified and valuable in itself, we have not yet made it a sufficient treasury of good things, have not infused it with the riches which men will not wantonly waste.

Human life will become valuable as we invest in it. The child that is worth bearing, nursing, tending and rearing, worth educating, worth making happy, worth building good schools and laying out playgrounds for, worth all the subtle effort of modern educational science, is becoming too valuable for drudgery, too valuable for the food of cannon. It is because for some years we have been putting positive values into life that the

money and attention in human beings, by just so much do we insure ourselves against idle destruction.

This is the best internal defense against those amongst us who may be dreaming of aggression. Every dollar and every moment of care devoted to increasing the individual importance of people, all skill and training, all fine organization to humanize work, every increase of political expression, is a

protection against idle use of our military power, against any attempt to convert legitimate and necessary preparation for defense into an instrument of conquest. It may be said with justice that the man is dangerous who talks loudly about military preparation and is uninterested in social reform. It is the people engaged in adding to the values of civilization who have earned the right to talk about its defense.

WALTER LIPPMANN.

The French Yellow Book

THE great, the unique service of the French Yellow Book is that it discloses diplomacy actively and competently at work, at work at the precise task diplomacy is supposed to deal with, and not at the task of preparing a case to satisfy the moral sense of neutral mankind or to justify the actions of a nation which distrusts its own witnesses before the "court of civilization."

Read the British White Paper, and from start almost to finish it is plain that the ministry of Great Britain, the whole diplomatic machinery, is devoted to amending the verities and improving the morals of Europe, to avoiding ineluctable war, not to preparing the British nation for what was inevitable from the first moment of the Servian crisis.

Shaw is wholly right when he extols the clairvoyance of Sazonoff, who from first to last, while giving every proof of patience and moderation, did not conceal his conviction that only war could come. Shaw is wrong when he ascribes this virtue wholly to Sazonoff. Jules Cambon at Berlin was at all times quite clear in his own mind as to what was to come, was in fact clear a year ago, when he sent to his government that remarkable document which is the first chapter in the Yellow Book.

In 1913 the French Ambassador at Berlin perceived certain things. He discovered a state of mind in German officialdom and out of it. He saw that this state of mind could mean but one thing and he told his government so. His observations were confirmed by others in the service of the French government. Their reports are now a part of the public record of the Yellow Book.

French diplomacy as early as 1913, then, observed certain signs. These signs meant war between France and Germany. Russian diplomacy made similar discoveries. This latter fact is unmistakable in all that Sazonoff said after the Servian crisis began.

Go through the whole collection of documents the French have now submitted, and the outstanding fact is that at all times French diplomacy was abreast of the truth. It was not deluded, put off its guard, led up the side alley of humanitarianism. Of all the Great Powers France had most to fear from a general war. Precisely in the same way it

to avoid all wavering, all hesitancy, all irresolution.

Reading the record now supplied by the French government, there is patent the fact that the day the Austrian government despatched its ultimatum to Belgrade, official France and official Russia knew that a general war was to follow. This was because Russian and French diplomacy had envisaged the fact that there was in Germany a state of mind. To the French and Russians it might seem a spirit of aggrandizement, of deliberate determination to dominate Europe. To Germany it did seem merely the natural consequence of perils impending, forced upon a peaceful nation. But the European fact was this state of mind.

All this British diplomacy refused to recognize, British statesmanship refused to accept. Thus for a whole week we have the eager, feverish industry of Sir Edward Grey. Every capital in Europe is the scene of British effort to solve what was insoluble, because there was never any conceivable basis of agreement. Austria accused Servia of incendiarism in Austrian territory, assumed the right to deal drastically with the incendiary, refused on the request of Russia to let the offender off with a reprimand, an empty gesture of menace, knowing full well that it would be but the prelude to more fires. Russia insisted on the right to regulate the dealing of a neighbor with an adjacent nuisance.

Short of permitting Russia to assume the full charge of her Balkan affairs, Austria never could recognize Russian pretensions to protect Servia. It was not necessary for Austria to raise the question, she did not need to deliver an ultimatum. But Austria having done this, there was no chance at any time under any circumstances of composing the trouble unless Russia renounced a right she had assumed as the "Big Brother Slav" to protect the little Slav from the consequences of his own acts, not in the specific case of the assassination of the Archduke, where his alibi was impressive, but in his general campaign to "redeem" Servians in Austria.

British diplomacy all the time busied itself with an effort to persuade Germany to urge Austria to yield to Russia, to modify its demands upon Servia. British diplomacy was aghast at the tone of these demands. Sir Edward Grey rightly described them

diplomacy was quite as ready with the suggestion that England tell Russia to keep her hands off, to let the little pyromaniac be duly punished by Germany's friend.

In all this, neither German nor British diplomacy would recognize the fact. Each deceived the other, but in what was vital both deceived themselves. French diplomacy, on the contrary, neither deceived nor was deceived. At the proper moment France and Russia assured each other and the world of their solidarity. The French ambassador at Rome obtained the all-vital assurance from the Marquis di San Giuliano that Italy would stay out of the war. The French ambassador at London laid before Sir Edward Grey the statement of views, not a declaration of purpose, be it understood, that France and England had exchanged long before, covering the existing situation.

It was of utmost importance both for France and for Germany to know what Great Britain would do, and it was plain all through the critical week that Great Britain herself did not officially have the remotest idea of what she would do. Yet up to the very last moment Germany was satisfied that England would stay out, and France never, during all the anxious hours, seemed to have the smallest fear that her neighbor across the Channel would prove disloyal. French diplomacy was right. It was informed about this as about all other things. It recognized that there was in London, as in Berlin, a state of mind.

The truth of course is that there never was the smallest doubt that England would join in a general war if Germany attacked France, or in any way, save under direct provocation, went to war with the republic. Most well-informed Englishmen knew it, had known it without acknowledging it, for ten years. The German realizes this now and rages because his own state of mind is being generally exploited and the British state of mind disguised, concealed behind details and circumstances he realizes are incidental and fortuitous.

No one has described this British state of mind so well as Shaw. But what is useful to note now is that the French understood it. Their allies, the Russians, saw it through their eyes and understood it. France and Russia acted steadily with this knowledge. Germany misunderstood it. German diplomacy failed to grasp the fact, wholly misunderstood Sir Edward Grey's activity. Hence that panic of Berlin when England at last acted on her state of mind. Hence the present hatred of England, a hatred based on the fact that Germany misunderstood England's mind and believed that England misunderstood her own interests, the most impossible of all contingencies.

Thanks to the Yellow Book we now perceive that French diplomacy and statesmanship misunderstood neither the British nor the German state of mind. Knowing the British state of mind, France knew that England was bound to fight Ger-

tiently shared in all the efforts of Sir Edward Grey. Knowing the German state of mind, she was aware of the certainty of the failure, but that Germany might have no second Ems warrant for war, she observed every diplomatic convention with almost pathetic fidelity.

In July the Germans believed what they did not know, because it was pleasant; the British refused to believe what they knew, because it was unpleasant. But French diplomacy from the very start recognized the fact, terrible as it was for France. That is why now, when Briton and German are filling the world with their explanations, the Frenchman has nothing to explain. Being a Latin, what he had long foreseen did not surprise him.

FRANK H. SIMONDS.

International Rivalry in Science

A COMPARATIVE estimate of the scientific work accomplished in the several countries involved has loomed prominently since the beginning of the war. Unfortunately the literary men who have been most active in the appraisal know little of science, and the scientists themselves have on the whole been far from dispassionate. Very few are able, like Haeckel, to combine high veneration for alien cultures with a fervent patriotism; and fewer still are those who, like Bertrand Russell, the philosopher, and Max Verworn, the physiologist, rise above the limitations of nationalistic sentiment. Sir William Ramsay, in a recent issue of *Nature* (October 8, 1914) seeks to belittle German science and proclaims to a willing public the far from original discovery that the Germans are adapters and plodders but lack originality. When a first-rate chemist indulges in this sort of talk, absolutism must be granted to yellow journalists.

We may at once dismiss the notion that any one of the West European peoples is racially better fitted than the rest for scientific work, whether creative or not, as a piece of anthropological nonsense. First of all, the national limits do not coincide with the racial boundaries. Secondly, if they did, all the "races" concerned would still be so closely allied from a biological point of view that a far-reaching difference in intellectual endowment is simply out of the question. The only problem that can be discussed with any satisfaction is whether in some countries the historical development has created conditions that are more favorable to the highest grade of scientific work. And if we face this problem at all impartially, the international character of science stands out clearly.

Take three of the greatest scientific generalizations, the law of gravitation, the principle of the conservation of energy, and the the

law for planetary motions; Galileo, the Italian, had discovered the law for the velocity of a falling body; and Huygens, a Dutchman, independently solved the problem of several bodies affecting one another's motions. German and English scientists—Helmholtz, Mayer, Joule, Kelvin—share the honor of establishing the principle that energy can be transformed but never destroyed; but according to an impartial German historian of physics, Professor Ernst Mach, the crowning glory of the achievement belongs to a French predecessor of all of them, Sadi Carnot. Evolution is popularly associated with the name of Darwin; but Darwin had for his precursor the Frenchman Lamarck, for his most ardent follower the German Haeckel. The problem of heredity was first seriously broached by the German Weismann, Mendelian inheritance was the discovery of an Austrian monk, and evolution by leaps rather than by gradual variation was postulated by the Dutch botanist De Vries.

The three generalizations have been chosen more or less at random; we may be confident that, except from accidental causes, other fields of research would yield the same result. Unfortunately the whole subject is clouded for the lay mind—and alas, for the specialist often enough—by the deep impression received from the popular reputation of scientists. To many it will seem that among the names mentioned those of Newton and Darwin easily lead the rest. But popular reputation is a remarkably unsafe guide to scientific worth. How many educated men in the United States know that European judgment places the late Willard Gibbs above all other American scientists? The real contribution made even by the greatest thinker as compared with his predecessors and compeers is a problem that requires the most intensive historical study, and even then, often enough, the doctors disagree. In the whole range of science no name is so universally honored as that of Newton, but he must not be conceived as a giant walking among pygmies. Mach thinks that in mechanics the intellectual achievement of Newton had been fully prepared by Kepler, Galileo, and Huygens, and that its distinguishing trait was power of imagination. But, on the basis of careful documentary research, the most recent student of the subject, Mr. Philip E. B. Jourdain of Cambridge, England, denies that Newton owes his unique place to any unusual feat of the imagination, attributing it rather to his mathematical insight. When we turn to the history of Newton's mathematical discoveries, we find a rival in the person of Leibnitz. The story that the great German plagiarized his English contemporary is an exploded myth. Among those who dispelled the charge may be mentioned the English mathematician De Morgan, who showed that Leibnitz was honest and ingenuous, and that in the course of incidental incursions into mathematics he had "produced one of the greatest of its inventions almost simultaneously with Newton." Popular fame in

What can be established by historical research for the case of Newton, the supreme intellect of science, requires no particular research in the case of Darwin. His influence on thought has been enormous, and the lay mind jumps to the inference that such influence could only have been achieved by a supreme mind. But what are the facts? Huxley, who knew Darwin, loved him, fought for him, and was probably the all-round best judge of Darwin's ability, would have nothing to do with the colossal-intellect myth. He granted to Darwin a clear, rapid intelligence, a great memory, and a vivid imagination; he would not place him above Lamarck or Johannes Müller or Karl Ernst von Baer.

The history of science, as popularly conceived, is shot through with Carlylean hero-worshipping myths. In reality there are great outstanding figures, but no Brobdignagians. Even granting that it were possible to indicate in every field the supreme name, no one would be able to decide satisfactorily whether such supremacy were or were not outweighed by the cumulative influence of two or three somewhat lesser reputations representing some other nationality.

In the place of this futile estimate rises the conception of science as a cooperative undertaking of numerous trained workers: instead of Carlylean heroes, Carlylean "able men." From this point of view a genius who in ignorance of history should unwittingly duplicate Newton's discoveries, would acquire only the social value of a tight-rope walker or a heavy-weight lifter. Comparison of national achievement in science thus ceases to be a fruitless bickering over the relative merits of a few great men whose value is usually incommensurate. Instead we are confronted with the problem as to which country has most effectively organized scientific effort. And here there can be but one answer, even on the hostile side: Germany. All that has been said against German scientific work is but a ruse to offset the glaring fact of the supremacy of its total output. The alleged mediocrity of many German scholars need not even be discussed. Where there are more workers there will be of necessity more men of merely average endowment. The amazing thing is that these mediocre men do work that is above the average, owing to the very machine that itself teaches being original, even in a small way. Again it is said that organization stifles personality. No more manifest psychological falsehood has been uttered. The mathematician is not hindered in the development of his work by the use of tables and calculating-machines. The perfect systematization of all intellectual work is thus not only no hindrance to individual development, it is the prerequisite to full and free development of personality. It enables the genius, no less than the able man, to realize his very highest possibilities. From a social point of view its value is immeasurable. Clear, rapid intelligence for a lever, system for an Archimedean standing-ground, will suffice to

War and Thinking

ONE of the first effects of the war was to reassure everyone who confidently specializes in human affairs that his particular enthusiasm was justified. The pacifists flattered themselves that they had at last a cogent and unmistakable demonstration of the rottenness of the *para bellum* argument, the "ghastly swindle," as Mr. Creel calls it. On the other hand, Mr. Roosevelt and the *para bellumists* assume that their contention is now proved beyond cavil. Both suffragists and anti-suffragists are confirmed in their conflicting faiths by the same disaster. Cardinal Farley sees a long-suffering God punishing the nations for their blasphemies, and Pastor Russel reports progress in the unfolding of "the divine plan." Does this mean that the opinions and inferences of all these earnest people are worthless, or does it mean rather that each has used the great conflagration to warm up his own particular *pot-au-feu*? To the outsider this would imply a rather narrowly domestic attitude of mind.

The general emotion which has controlled and determined thought about the war is of course national prejudice. We were all prepared for that, and it has brought only one surprise. Englishmen and Americans and the few Frenchmen whose utterances have reached us have exhibited about the range and intensity of sentiment that might have been anticipated; the Germans, on the other hand, we have found difficult to understand. We looked forward to some variety and conflict of opinion among them, to at least a mild protest against the war on the part of the socialist leaders, or the expression of a reservation now and then as to the emperor and the army in the letter of some learned professor to an American friend. But a fierce outburst of national feeling has driven reason into hiding and left the field to arrogance, hate and suspicion.

The propositions upon which Germans of all classes appear to agree are the following. The German people are inherently a superior race who have developed a civilization (*Kultur*) of unprecedented perfection, of which their military organization, with its marvelous discipline and applications of modern science, is the essential safeguard against the jealousy of decadent nations, like France and England, and the barbarism of the Slavs. Germany is now meeting the attack which she has long anticipated, under the natural leadership of her emperor; her occupation of Belgium was amply justified by the straits in which she found herself through no fault of her own. These propositions, in spite of their very startling nature, are assumed rather than defended, and Germany's apologists seem surprised and deeply pained that we in the United States do

only be explained by the assumption that we are enmeshed in the lies of Germany's enemies or bought with British gold.

We, on the other hand, are only too conscious that no British gold is flowing our way, and we feel not only that the Germans have had an opportunity to tell us all that they have to say about themselves, but that they have freely availed themselves of the opportunity. Germany's most noted men have set forth her case jointly and severally, and her agents and friends on this side of the water have given us the very "truth about Germany" and made clear the "vital issue." As for the case of the Allies, we have heard very little from Russia; France has held her peace; Belgium has satisfied herself with a dignified appeal or two, and even our cousins across the Atlantic have manufactured but little opinion for export. At first we thought we had a very simple explanation of the war and of the attack on Belgium; we said that the great mass of the German people had been misled by the Kaiser and the war party. Then we waited patiently for some German to say this, and we even went so far as to suggest this means of exonerating the nation.

But no German welcomed our well-intentioned suggestion; on the contrary, all Germans bitterly resented the notion that the Kaiser and the army were not the divinely appointed means of saving the nation from destruction. Eucken and Haeckel took the lead in showing us our mistake. Never before in all their lives had they agreed on a single thing, but when it came to defending the war and Germany's part in it they laid aside all philosophic differences and joined in a strident duo of invectives against "perfidious Albion." Romain Rolland, laboring under the same delusion as we, wrote a high-minded letter of appeal to his friend, Gerhardt Hauptmann, only to receive a scathing rebuff. When English clergymen tried to explain to Harnack how he ought to feel, the eminent church historian told them to mind their own business, that Germany was not an *energumen*, possessed of a devil to be exorcised by English prayers.

Only gradually are we coming to see that we have not reckoned with certain national presumptions of the gravest import for the world, which are so effectively inwrought through education into the fibre of German life that even those whose intellectual experience has been wide and varied—men like Eduard Meyer, Brentano, Sudermann and Wilamowitz—accept them unquestioningly. Just at a time when all the older notions of race are being undermined by anthropologists, historians and biologists, the Germans would have us accord them a position of racial supremacy; just when the world is becoming unified economically and scientifically, the

practice of war is attacked on every hand, the Germans produce the classical defense of war and exalt its practice to a fine art; just when monarchs by the grace of God are disappearing from the earth, the Germans would have us listen devoutly to the archaic utterances of their king and emperor.

As yet no German writer has showed the slightest glimmer of appreciation of these considerations which we feel so deeply. All German apologists, however distinguished for their intellectual achievements, have confined themselves mainly to invective and the expression of unworthy suspicions. Their best friends are disappointed in them, and are forced to face the problem of how obtuseness is to be reconciled with all the admirable intellectual traits which we have come to associate with Germany.

In any attempt to solve this problem two things must be remembered; first, that the preoccupations of most scholars and scientists in no way fit them directly or indirectly to have sane opinions upon public affairs. To have gained distinction by one's researches in Pali, chromosomes, X-rays, fossil dolphins, or hendiadys among the Patagonians, does not insure but rather tends to prevent a liberal play of the intellectual in a great human crisis. Why should the opinions of professors of chemistry, physics, geology, sacred history, romance philology and comparative anatomy be worth more than those of any other industrious mortal when it comes to the rights and wrongs of a European war?

Of course we might reasonably expect more from historians and philosophers and students of literature, but one can be a distinguished historian or philosopher or philologist and still remain a babe in arms in one's complete ignorance of what is going on around one. But what shall we say of the economists and those who specialize in social organization and international relations? The more competent they are the less prone are they to pass hasty judgments on situations the complexity of which they realize so much more fully than the ordinary observer. Perhaps of all men those whose opinion is best worth listening to are the modern story-tellers and playwrights—Wells, Galsworthy, Anatole France, Brieux, Shaw—and certain philosophers-at-large, like ex-President Eliot or Lowes Dickinson. Germany also has many men of this class, but so far they have only uttered incoherent cries of rage.

The second element in explaining our disappointment in Germany is that its very idea of efficiency must inevitably discourage and hamper free criticism of public affairs. Every German has had an education designed to make him blindly loyal to Germany and its government, just as a Jesuit has an education which makes him loyal through life to the Roman Catholic Church and its head. All the men to whom we look in vain for breadth, imagination and perspective in the present crisis have had a German education, have accepted the German

escaping from it. The pitifully feeble appeal to "the civilized world" signed by the best known scholars, scientists and men of letters in Germany is but the sign and seal of the success of German *Kultur* in making all her subjects accept the Kaiser and his decisions in exactly the same unquestioning and dutiful spirit in which the Jesuit accepts the organization of the Roman apostolic church and the decrees of its head.

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON.

Democracy its own Critic

THE educational influence of cooperation may be seen in this, that in every working hour the principles of the self-managed life have to be practiced. That fateful question, "What will the people do when they get power?" has explicit answer among more than twenty millions of working cooperators. Large sections of these have got this power. They have got the most difficult and most important form of it, that which mainly determines their own economic and business life. In two generations they have nowhere seriously abused it. If cooperation succeeds, it is the one school in which no mere phrase-maker, promoter or get-rich-quick adventurer has the slightest chance, the one school in which the large and airy claims of every "ism" are roundly brought to book.

Cooperation shuts the door upon no revolutionary suggestion, but insists that those who promise big things shall make good. In great variety it offers actual field practice where social theories may be put to test. Those who think that capitalists perform no useful service; that all middlemen are parasites; that the main deviltries are "social" and not in the individual; that competition is essentially an evil to be removed; that it is easy to build up and maintain large business and keep labor in good humor—all such have a chance in cooperative enterprise to confirm or to revise their opinions.

In the store, insurance, credit and banking, elevator, buying and selling associations, cooperation is, indeed, a history of revised opinions. The labor question is very largely a struggle over the control of applied inventions. Labor thinks there would be no trouble over putting in new machinery if only the machines were owned by the people. Yet in hundreds of cooperative factories and workshops the workers do own the machines and can do with them as they like. They are quick to put them in if no one is to be thrown out of a job. But when that danger is serious and immediate, the new invention is stiffly opposed, solely because men and women may then and there be dropped. These cooperators cannot make a scapegoat of capitalists, who are supposed to own all machinery. That most staggering of questions, how to keep surplus labor continually and productively at work, comes like a challenge into labor's own camp.

is left wholly uneducated on this haunting problem which, thus far, no one in the world has had wit enough to meet.

To show that no fanciful claim is here made for the penetrating power of this self-criticism, we have only to look at cooperative industry and the markets which it has created in at least ten countries. When factories, mills and farms begin to produce for the cooperative market, thousands of working men and women have to be hired, as in private industry. English cooperators, for example, have more than 100,000 hired workers. The wholesale alone has 5,000 in its distribution and 13,000 in its production. In the very household of labor this raises every vexatious issue under which ordinary employers suffer. Cooperative committees chosen by workmen have to deal with trade unions fighting for higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions.

There can be no sentimental shirking of these bristling difficulties. Shall the cooperative store or manufactory adopt profit-sharing? The entire bulk of academic discussion on this supposed remedy has very slight value compared to nearly fifty years of working-class experience with this device. Literally thousands of experiments with it have failed. Profit-sharing in the "self-governing workshop" is largely a record of disappointment. In the far more efficient consumers' cooperation, profit-sharing, after innumerable trials, has been pretty nearly abandoned. Though strikes are comparatively rare, this army of employees does now and then threaten to go, or actually does go, on strike, bringing sharply to the front the conflict of interest between the workman striving for high wages and the consumer asking for cheap products. There is no more momentous question than this in the future organization of industry, and it is being threshed out within the cooperative movement.

Those who run cooperative enterprises have to make their own working compromises on these points. Catherine of Russia told the philosopher Diderot that it was easy to manage men in the pages of a book, but "I have to write on the ticklish human skin." With wages, hours, prices, welfare work, strikes and piece work, cooperators are as close to the skin as the Great Queen.

I heard an old cooperator say, "We have one fat-head who thinks our shirt factory can be run on a five-hour working day without piece work, and another one who thinks wages should be paid 'according to need.'" This last purely communistic proposal, like the whimsical insistence of Bernard Shaw that everybody shall receive the same income, would nowhere get more drastic judgment than among cooperators who had built up a thriving business. It is they who have learned, like the eleven hundred cooperative gangs in northern Italy doing contract work, that "piece work," for instance, is as humanly necessary as it is useful. Wherever labor secures control, it often adopts methods and sanctions conditions which it had bit-

ary basis, what was written off for depreciation, etc. The suspicion of labor has become so aroused on these points, so insistent upon knowing why its claims cannot be met, that our industrial peace is at stake. Labor's demand to know these things carries with it an invincible justice. Until it knows, labor will sulk, and will limit production, and breed no end of crude syndicalist revolts.

Now cooperation, though it will do but a part of the world's work, is the one educational field on which labor learns to know and to respect those severe economic exigencies under which production and distribution have got to go on in this world.

No seasoned cooperator can be fooled by fairytales about the motives of men engaged in earning their livelihood. The cry goes up just now for the "minimum wage." In its own interest, society has got to accept that principle and learn to apply it. It will require decades and be attended with sickening failures. Its adoption assumes that we frankly put a certain standard of life and security before and above profit-making. English cooperators have for years struggled with this issue of the minimum wage. From the first, cooperation eliminates the private profit-making principle. The whole mechanism of business is to be subordinated to the needs of life. Neither machine nor organization is there to victimize and enslave the worker. Both are there to serve him and to enrich his life. Many an American hustler has left an European cooperative factory with disgust because "they take it so easy." The observation is correct, but the inference at fault. These cooperators know perfectly well what they are doing when they knock off for a picnic or refuse some appeal to work overtime. They want a rational leisure more than they want a little more pay. They will tell you gaily, "We are not quite so efficient in this mill as some of the private profit-makers, but now that we control our own business, it is for us to decide under what pressure we will work." Twenty years ago, critics thought this lowering of efficiencies would prove fatal to the movement.

For years the English Women's Cooperative Guild has been agitating the minimum wage among its women workers. It was seen that the principle was already theirs. The difficulties of its application were, however, so formidable that not until last year was the matter decided. The long record of this discussion shows with what discrimination they have dealt with this thorny subject. The cooperative wholesale, in its distributive and productive departments, has some seven thousand women. It first cautiously granted the minimum wage to women in the distributive departments, and on January 1, 1914, to those in the manufacturing departments. The scale is set according to age from fourteen to twenty years. Thus in soap, boot-and-shoe, shirt, clothing, jam and hosiery works, the principle goes into effect, as well as in nearly two hundred outside distributive societies.

by responsibilities which make men wise in the "science of the possible." Precisely because the rigors of the actual industrial world have carried their own chastening into these labor groups, we find them educated in the sobrieties on which all democracy must at last rest. It is both the charm and the promise of the movement that these rigors have left no chill on the idealism from which the cooperative fellowship sprang. Its history is that

of democracy learning to know itself and its limitations in the world.

In noting finally the educational discipline of this self-criticism among the many thousands of distinctively socialistic cooperators, we shall see that no college in this or any other land offers sounder or more needed instruction both for social order and for social progress.

JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS.

Egypt and the Caliphate

WAR has turned the international lawyer into a distinguished member of the unemployed.

It would, for example, pass the utmost subtlety of his science to define the present position of Egypt. Was Egypt six weeks ago at war with Germany? Is it to-day at war with Turkey? It matters little what the answer is to either question. The British authorities were quite clear that they meant to treat Germans as "alien enemies," and they are equally clear that they mean to resist a Turkish invasion. Whether the Khedive is still the sovereign of Egypt is almost as doubtful as the other question, whether the Sultan is still his suzerain. The Khedive himself, safely quartered in a Turkish palace at Constantinople, makes anti-British statements to German journalists, which the British affect to regard as declarations made involuntarily under duress. The Prime Minister, who governs in the Khedive's name, continues to earn our confidence. We go our way imperturbably, as little affected by all this complicated make-believe as if we ourselves were Orientals, bred in a world of dreams. We have no legal status in Egypt, but we have thriven for thirty years under that disability and it does not incommode us to-day. We shall straighten out the tangle of international law when the war is over; to-day our business is to defend the Suez Canal.

What, meanwhile, is the attitude of the Egyptian people, as a Moslem army draws near which promises to free them from infidel rule? Seven years ago England would have had no doubt about the answer to that question, and it would not have been a reassuring answer. These were the golden days of Egyptian nationalism. It had a leader of genius in the person of Mustafa Kamel Pasha. His eloquence and imagination, his passionate, unbending idealism had fired the educated youth of Egypt with the belief that the independence of their country might be won, perhaps with Turkish aid, perhaps amid a European war, but preferably by their own efforts. His teaching spread a movement of revolt even in the secondary schools, and it forced into line for a time the disillusioned materialistic men in middle life. The strength of this agitation lay in the command of the vernacular press, its weak-

the masses in Cairo, and I have rarely been more deeply impressed by any popular demonstration than by the sight of the crowds which gathered to celebrate the first anniversary of the young leader's premature death. In those days the British authorities in Egypt, from Lord Cromer to the youngest subaltern, were undoubtedly nervous. Their anxiety showed itself in the painful incident of the Denshawai hangings, and even more clearly in the ultimatum issued to Turkey in 1906, when she encroached upon the Sinai frontier at Tabah. If the present war had surprised us then, there would have been a rising in Egypt.

The whole face of Egyptian politics has changed since Mustafa Kamel's death. His successors were little men, who quarrelled among themselves until a nascent popular movement became a war of factions and lost its impetus in jealousies and intrigues. It became, indeed, morally so negligible that it was possible for Sir Eldon Gorst and Lord Kitchener to suppress its public manifestations and to drive it underground. Its newspaper, under a stringent press law, ceased to appear; its leaders were forced into exile, and what was left of its idealistic impulse turned to a calmer and more compromising movement on behalf of parliamentary self-government.

Lord Kitchener, meanwhile, adapted to Egyptian conditions the policy of English Unionism in Ireland. He set to work "to kill nationalism with kindness." Lord Cromer had done much for the material prosperity of Egypt, but he was hampered by the traditions of his Victorian individualism. He would pass no factory act; he would create no ministry of agriculture; he did not interfere with the monstrous local systems of land tenure, based as they are on debt and usury and a species of peonage. Lord Kitchener, while he pursued a policy of "thorough" against the Nationalists, set himself to win the peasants. Sir Eldon Gorst carried a factory act. Lord Kitchener secured the peasant in the possession of a few acres which might not be alienated for debt, and devoted himself to a whole round of beneficent activities to improve agriculture, to further sanitation, to stamp out disease, and above all to combat usury. I cannot speak at first hand of

who tell me that the peasantry were never so contented, and never so happily busied with their fruitful toil on the fields that yield three crops in a year. It was a poor percentage of all these harvests that used to go to the husbandman. A little more is left to him to-day to fill the bare hut of mud. It is probable that the chief thought in the mind of the *fellahin* to-day is not the coming of the Turks, or the doings of the English, or any echo from distant Europe where "ignorant armies clash by night," but the prospect of an abundant cotton crop. It is a simple, materialistic people, rather African than Oriental in its mentality, and long history has rendered it passive under alien rule. The young men of the educated class are doubtless in a mental ferment, but they are not a heroic race; they have no commanding leaders, and their aspirations must suffer from their isolation from the illiterate country-folk.

The religious question is rather more delicate. The British authorities have already decided not to put the feelings of the Egyptian people to the test by asking the native army to march against the Turks. It was a wise decision, and it will probably prevent such complications as resulted in South Africa from the mistake of demanding an active and aggressive loyalty from the Boers. Islam differs from Christianity in nothing so much as its eccentric objection to fratricidal strife. It is not quite true that Moslems will not fight against other Moslems. In the last days of the Mamelukes their cavalry raided Syria, and early in the last century Egyptian armies under Mehemet Ali fought against both the Turks and the Wahabis. But it probably is true that a pious Egyptian soldier would have felt himself in danger of hell-fire if he had marched under Christian commanders against the soldiers of the caliph. The ultimate result of this difficulty may well be to raise in regard to the Moslem caliphate a problem resembling the questions that used to center round the temporal power of the Papacy. Each of the three Allies, but above all, Great Britain, has become a great Moslem power. None of them can afford to leave the spiritual jurisdiction of their Moslem subjects in the hands of a ruler subject to German influence, if not to German dictation. When the guns of the "Goeben" and the "Breslau" won the command of the Golden Horn, they did in effect what the Constable de Bourbon and Napoleon did at Rome. They seized the spiritual arm.

A Moslem Pope may be formidable when he is independent, but he becomes actively dangerous when he is subject to a hostile country. The chances are that this war will end, if it results in a decided Allied victory, in a removal of the caliphate from Constantinople. The idea of the caliphate is not necessarily bound up with the Ottoman Empire. The caliph ought by tradition to be a member of Mohamet's tribe, the Koreish, and this the descendants

high priest but a temporal sovereign, who owes his prestige to the guardianship of certain roads and shrines. An official British statement has already declared that action may be undertaken in Arabia "for the protection of Arab interests against Turkish aggression, or in support of attempts by the Arabs to free themselves from Turkish misrule." This modest little communication, which most of the newspapers buried in small type, may possibly conceal a large policy. If the Arabs should free themselves from Turkish rule under one or other of the inveterate Yemen rebels, the Turkish caliphate would have come automatically to its end. The caliph will then be the Arab prince who succeeds, under England's protection, in commanding the roads that lead to Mecca.

I am not quite sure what the result would be. Would orthodox Moslems accept a caliph, even if he sprang from the loins of Mohamet, who owed his position to Christian aid? There might possibly be a schism; there would probably be a decline in the influence of the caliphate itself; but certainly the Sultan of Turkey would lose his position of pre-eminence in the Moslem world. It is not in the habits of the Foreign Office to pursue such an imaginative far-seeing policy as this with any steadiness. The "Goeben," however, by forcing it upon us, has revived an old idea that had long haunted Anglo-Indian statesmen, and if events should make its realization easy, then realized it will be. The Turks, by their plunge into war, have staked not merely their suzerainty in Egypt, their possession of Armenia, and the guardianship of the Dardanelles; they have risked the creation of an Arab caliphate under British protection.

There comes back to me, as I write, the memory of a strange old man whom once I met, a prisoner in Damietta. It was Osman Digna, the redoubtable lieutenant of the Mahdi, the De Wet of the Sudan. His gaolers called him mad. To me it seemed the madness of Sinai and Mecca, and I stood, while he talked to me, among the Companions and the Prophets. He unfolded to me his philosophy of history as he clutched his Koran. He was, he told me, the successor of the Mahdi. The crumpled old Koran was the badge of his apostolate. The English had captured him, and his Koran with him. God, he declared, had placed His Book and His Prophet in the keeping of the English. They had been sent as a scourge to Islam, which had forgotten the Book, and theirs it now was to protect Islam and destroy its foes. I have often thought since that day that the old man revealed the fundamental simplicity of the thoughts of Islam. It bows to power, and sees in victory the revelation of Allah's will. If an English victory should end the Turkish caliphate, it is possible that the simple masses of the Mohammedan world will think with Osman Digna, and hail the British sword as the appointed defender of the Holy Places. Islam is the religion of

CORRESPONDENCE

Mr. Herrick on Armament

SIR: The Naval Auxiliary League, a self-constituted organization "boosting" from Washington for a larger navy, has recently opened an office in Chicago, presumably to further its propaganda in the Middle West by taking advantage of the present European war fever. This is but one of numerous indications that the people of the United States are being subjected to a systematic campaign in favor of armament. The press, so far as I see it, seems to be entering with enthusiasm on this "cause," propagating fears, creating hypothetical enemies ready to destroy us, urging America to imitate Europe in its delusive methods of "preparation." This increasing agitation is of course one of the evil results of the European insanity that must be expected; it is also a vivid illustration of modern methods of creating hysteria in a democratic state. For the war spirit, whether caused by an illusive fear or an instinct for aggression, is as much a form of hysteria as any pathological state, and Americans unfortunately are only too prone to suffer from attacks of this sort of hysteria.

Without entering into the arguments advanced for increasing our army and navy, I wish to state three propositions that the present war has proved so far as it has proved anything: first, the one sure way to precipitate war is to prepare for it, a truth that psychologists have long been aware of. Europe prepared for war intensively for two generations—it was only a question of time when it got war. If we want war with Japan we are doing our best to bring it about, and have been especially since the anti-Japanese agitation, expressed in certain timorous legislation in California. Second, armaments, no matter how up-to-date, are always out of date unless immediately employed, and give their possessors merely a paper advantage over an imaginary foe. As Mr. Wells urged on his countrymen before the outbreak of the war, "dreadnoughting" is both an expensive and delusive game, while intelligence, technical skill, and invention are perpetually changing the terms of warfare. Third, a final decision—to use the current military phrase—is the one result modern war does not produce. War has apparently degenerated from tactics through massed force to the decision by physical exhaustion—its logical conclusion. To speak any longer of the "arbitrament of arms" is as silly as to speak of a trial by combat or other medieval fantasy.

Putting aside sentimental or ethical considerations, we can agree that the one reasonable sort of warfare for which America should be prepared, admitting that any form of preparation is called for, is a strictly defensive war. Defensive—not in the German sense, however. Intelligent preparation for such warfare would seem to imply, first, a close alliance among all American peoples on the basic principle that no organized force can be permitted to land on this hemisphere; and second, the creation of an army-and-navy board capable of devising means for an effective self-protection and mobilization of all national resources without the creation of more worthless war junk than we already own, such as dreadnoughts that nobody will dread, forts that crumble before some new explosive, and guns that will be outclassed before they are mounted. Such a board of national defense had much better spend its efforts in fostering experimentation and invention.

All-American Alliance and a serious purpose to prevent aggressive war on this hemisphere would probably obviate the possibility of such a war—if we might also add a law compelling every journalist and public speaker favoring armament to enlist and go to the front at the outbreak of war.

Apart from the waste and the folly of Germanizing our army and Briticizing our navy, I dread especially the influence of all this armament agitation on the spirit of our people, which has already too heavy an alloy of materialism and youthful arrogance in it. The possession of an improved military toy must inevitably rouse all the football pugnacity of young America: we should hear more of "Take Mexico—on to Panama!" and next, "Take Canada—on to the North Pole!" Meanwhile would be forgotten our one noblest reason for existence as a nation, which is to offer a reasonable opportunity to the unprivileged of all peoples for self-development, to create and educate a great democratic state, to solve finally the knotty social problems involved in property ownership, and in doing so to explode the delusion of a narrow, arrogant nationalism which masquerades as patriotism.

I am, faithfully,

ROBERT HERRICK.

Chicago.

Woman Suffrage and Strategy

SIR: The "painful lack of knowledge of constitutional history" displayed by the National American Woman Suffrage Association in its recent convention at Nashville is caustically discussed by Professor Charles A. Beard in your issue of December 12th. "Stultified," "invincible ignorance," "ridiculous," and similar terms are the medium through which the professor finds relief for his emotions.

Professor Beard is a member of the faculty of Columbia University, in the department of politics, which presupposes a considerable legal knowledge. Yet our audacity is such that we venture to remind him of the very first principle of the legal profession—namely, to examine the premises and the records before preparing his brief. The transactions of the Nashville convention (which we have examined, Professor Beard) show that the National Association adopted a resolution, not demanding any particular thing of Congress, but instructing its Congressional Committee "to investigate and promote" a Federal elections bill.

As to the nature of that bill, it is Professor Beard's own "genial assumption" that it is based upon the Fourteenth Amendment. If the convention, presided over by such feeble intellects as Anna Howard Shaw, Jane Addams, Laura Clay, Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, and others of their calibre, was indeed so childlike as to have thought that the Minor-Happersett decision could be reversed by act of Congress, it would appear that some kind outsider must have interposed the saving word. The proposed Federal elections bill is in fact based upon Section 4 of the Constitution, which, in the opinion of many good constitutionalists, reserves to Congress the right to say who shall vote for Senators and Representatives. The printed records of congressional hearings on this bill make this fact plain.

Professor Beard upholds enthusiastically the policy of

the votes of Democrats in seven states, to conduct in nine other nearby states, and with the widest publicity, an organized campaign to defeat all Democrats because they are Democrats. He approves this policy knowing, too, that the particular Democrats thus marked for defeat are among the very best friends of the suffrage cause in Congress. And he reiterates his views notwithstanding the history of the recent campaign, in which the Congressional Union activities in Kansas, Colorado, and the other equal suffrage states not only defeated their own immediate aims in those states but contributed to the defeat of suffrage itself in North Dakota and Nebraska.

The term "political babes," so fluently employed by Professor Beard in discussion of the policies of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, seems to have a dangerous rebound.
ANTOINETTE FUNK.
Washington, D.C.

The Married Teacher

SIR: In its contemptuous criticism of the New York Board of Education for its policy respecting married teachers, *THE NEW REPUBLIC* omits reference to the main point, that of the teachers' efficiency. Mother-teachers are proven, in a vital respect, inefficient. An investigation showed that the same group of teachers after marriage, even before they became pregnant, were absent between two and three times as often as before marriage.

The members of the Board, these "oldish and reactionary men," as you style them, are so belated that they consider the city should procure for its generous salaries a zealous, undivided service, not broken by frequent illness and wifely cares, the natural and inevitable result of extra responsibilities which the married woman assumes. Our school superintendents testify that their observation through many years shows that the duties of wife and mother reduce the teacher's interest in her class, her promptness to report in the morning, her readiness to assume special duties, and her zeal in the preparation of her work. When salary schedules are under discussion we are always assured that the work of teaching is exhausting and nerve-racking, and that teachers must devote to their duties several hours each day outside the classroom. This home work we are not surprised to learn that the married woman shirks, for we sympathize with her habit of giving precedence to domestic duties.

Male teachers would not be granted the absences which mother-teachers demand. Suppose a group of twenty men proposed: "We intend to start a cooperative business which will be a blessing to the state, and we request a year's leave of absence in which to study cooperation and to make a tentative beginning. After that we will return to the city pay-roll, though we shall devote our time before and after school to building up our business. Some time later we expect to enlarge our enterprise and will ask for another year's leave. Another spell of teaching and a third furlough will put us in position to run our business in after-school hours." Would any employer listen to such a proposal with patience?

You perceive that the Board of Education is contending for the preservation of the form of family in which the mother is exempt from the burden of earning her bread. Yet while you lament, among the injuries inflicted by modern industry, the "accidents which incapacitate the father and force the mother to become a breadwinner," you charge that the Board, in saving the mother-teacher

Truly, as you say, "it is deplorable that family life should be aborted, tortured and deadened." Then why jeer at the Board which agrees with you that one way in which family life is "aborted, tortured and deadened" is by "forcing the mother to become a breadwinner," and declines to accept the doctrine that the employer need pay father only enough to support himself because mother can also work to support herself?

If, as you announce, we must try "to preserve the family by prohibiting child labor," why is it so comic for the Board to try to preserve the family by prohibiting mother labor—a form of commercial exploitation proven just as destructive?

"To preserve the family" you further allege that "woman must be made independent economically," which is your euphemistic phrase for "woman must be a breadwinner," a necessity which in an earlier paragraph you deplored. It seems that if the woman is forced by her husband's accidental death to become a breadwinner she is a pitiable victim; while if her husband is alive and prosperous and she is still forced to become a breadwinner, she enjoys "economic independence," which women must all accept, forsooth, in order "to preserve the family," though doctors, factory inspectors and health officers offer volumes of proof that the commercialized work of married women "aborts, tortures and deadens the family."

You assert that "the Board of Education desires the wrong thing. They are seeking to preserve the family by depriving the woman of an economic independence after marriage." Yet with the same drop of ink you demand workmen's compensation acts, which are based on the legal assumption that the wife is dependent for support upon the husband, that she is "deprived of an economic independence after marriage." It is her economic dependence which constitutes her just claim for compensation.

It would hardly be possible for the Board of Education to return the compliment you pay to it by declaring you "superior to the processes of logic." It will, however, judge you charitably; for it is clear that *THE NEW REPUBLIC*'s desire to see every woman earning her own bread is not due to its being "wilfully cruel," but to its want of practice, being about a month old, in thinking straight. As you remark: "Torquemada was not a cruel man"—only "stupid and bigoted."

JOHN MARTIN,

Member of the New York Board of Education.

Soldier Memories

SIR: Referring to Sergeant James's letter and your interpretation of it in your issue of November twenty-eighth, "for the truth of history" I venture to give you my recollection of the night passed in Kinston while it was occupied by the Union forces. After their defeat the Confederates retreated through beyond the town, forming a line of battle about two miles away.

I was one of the officers of the guard, was about the town during the night, and was one of the last to leave it. I did so with the impression that, aside from the foraging for food, it had not suffered seriously. Doubtless there were cases of excess, and empty houses were entered, but there was no "pillage and wanton burning of a defenseless town," nor was there any such absence of discipline or riot.

I have delayed this statement until I could confirm my recollection by interviews with other officers and a search

The Play and Its Cast

THE other night I arrived at a meeting just as a patriotic Irishman was starting out to declaim "Dark Rosaleen." Few as are the great poems written by Irishmen in the English language, this ode of Mangan is divine fire itself, the most beautiful expression of passionate patriotism. But nothing is so wildly beautiful as to be proof against the manner of the platform. This particular declaimer was bound to impress his auditors by every art known to the teacher of public oratory. He had a powerful baritone voice, and he was portentous, but somehow Mangan's music was unsuited to him, and though he grew red in the neck in emphasizing the lines, and drew loud applause, he managed to turn into rhetoric one of the rare unrheterical nationalist poems. Immediately after him came a plain middle-aged woman with a strong accent who recited a poem of her own. The poem protested that every sod in Ireland had been conferred on the Gaelic Irish by the hand of God, and not one inch should be given up to the Ulstermen. It was a simple effort, but it came from the depths of an unaffected nature, it was delivered naturally, and no one could have heard it quite unmoved. Here, by chance, was a typical contrast in presentation. On the one hand there was an incontestably fine piece of literature, on the other hand a commonplace verse, but by virtue of a difference in rendering the commonplace verse became significant, the inspired poem became banal. What the occasion illustrated was surely not the weakness of Mangan's poem. It was the dire possibility of a dramatic misadventure, the chance that a part misinterpreted may lead to a fatuity from which even a poor subject can be rescued by an artist rightly attuned.

It is this interrelation between the author and his interpreter that makes theatric values so elusive. From one viewpoint, the drama depends solely on the dramatist. If he fails in situation, in delineation, in feeling, the actor is as dumb as a bell without a tongue. But equally influential, though far less apparent, is the relation of the actor to the dramatist. The degree in which an actor impregnates his rôle is the inexhaustible surprise of the theatre, the factor that makes dramatic judgment so difficult and so nice. One of the most signal examples of the power of an actor to modify his dramatist I recall from a special performance some years back. Long an admirer of Synge's "The Shadow of the Glen," I remember nothing more disconcerting than a performance of that play in which Mr. Holbrook Blinn took the part of the tramp. As Synge conceived the tramp, he was a true vagabond, superstitious, ragged, penniless, but an untrammelled being, a piece of nature, at home in the enchanted woods. The word tramp, however, proved the undoing of Mr. Blinn. It made him think of an Irish-American hobo or "bum," and when he came to act the part he made it coarse and gruff and hoarse, as if his tramp had panhandled along the Bowery rather than lived free with hare and grouse on the Wicklow hills. At a certain point, of course, this perversion gave itself away. The very lines betrayed the character that Mr. Blinn had misconceived. But by the time that point was reached the play had earned a little laughter, and few in the audience were alive to the incongruity of its later speech. Such a misunderstanding would, naturally, be impossible to the Irish Players. Neither the conventional tramp of the American stage nor the conventional emphasis on superstition would have misled them. Often

For another type of false emphasis, take the performance of Mr. George Nash in "The Miracle Man." Cast according to custom as a child of darkness, a mean and crafty crook, Mr. Nash is required to see the light toward the end of this play and to convince the audience that he believes in the prophet whom he has hitherto despised and deceived. It is an unexpected conversion, but by no means preposterous as psychology. Persuasive in the sinister rôle, sneering and suave, Mr. Nash leaves no doubt whatever as to the nature of the man whom he portrays. But when the moment comes for him to suggest the dawn of his faith, it becomes painfully clear that he has, by intonation and by-play, fortified the contrary conception so thoroughly that it refuses to yield. He attempts to carry his audience by much physical agitation. He bites his lips, works his features, droops his confident chest. But so thoroughly has he established himself as cynical and base that all his perturbation is little better than grimace. To have him make good would necessitate a revision from the start. Knowing the end from the beginning, the part of course lends itself to a directing sympathy throughout. In this, from some lack of attention or imagination, the actor fails, and the result is a theatrical botch. It is the beauty of Mr. James C. Marlowe's performance in the same play that nothing he does as the Flopper deprives a similar conversion of credibility. His rôle is not less difficult than Mr. Nash's, but his comprehension of the sympathies of the audience—his establishment of what Charles Lamb called that "judicious understanding, not too openly announced, between the ladies and gentlemen—on both sides of the curtain"—prevents the hollowness which betokens an imperfect moulding, a crack in the bell.

In misconception it is the actor who belies the dramatist, in miscasting it is the producer. For its lesson on this aspect of theatrical exigency Mrs. Patrick Campbell's recent benefit performance of "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray" deserves more than perfunctory attention. It was in this play, first produced in 1893, that Mrs. Campbell, as the handbook felicitously phrases it, "set the seal on her reputation." It would be hard to imagine a drama better suited to her allurements at that time. The poignancy of her part depends almost solely on our sympathy for a woman with a past, a woman beautiful but misunderstood, dependent but ostracized, anguished but rebuffed and contemned. Acted by Mrs. Campbell in her appealing youth, the cruelty of conventionality and social prejudice was emphasized by the charm of its victim, a cruelty hard to be endured. Converted, however, from lissome youthfulness to honest maternal amplitude, there is something about the later Paula Tanqueray that leaves the observer calm. In the case of a woman so frankly mature, and quite conceivably in the wrong social pew, chivalry seems a little impertinent. She arouses our reasonableness rather than entices our pity. The lines are, indeed, still pat, the craftsmanship accomplished, the faculty for effect unmitigated, but to give depth to the later Paula the dramatist would have to provide a spiritual as well as a social situation, a soul as well as a grievance. In the absence of these, it becomes apparent that it was Mrs. Campbell who primarily franked Pinero out of an endowment which care, a crabbed bookkeeper, has already foreclosed. The revival could only have occurred to persons who ignore the chemistry of time. Perversions like these bring out the deep personal contingencies of the acted drama, an art dependent on variable and subtle interactions, telling most of its tale to

Books and Things

IN fulfilment of a promise made by the United States more than eighty years ago, "the Cherokee nation, with its senate and house, governor and officers, laws, property and authority, exists no longer." The Cherokees "have been lifted as American citizens into full fellowship with their civilized conquerors." "Surely there is something fine in this slight bit of history. It takes hold upon the imagination and the memory, arouses dreams of the day when the Indian shall be wholly blended into our life, and at the same time draws the mind backward over the stumbling story of our relationship with him." The reservations where the Indians mostly live "are little more than expanded and perhaps somewhat idealized orphan asylums." Our duty toward the Indian is to substitute "a new standpoint for one long taught by fathers and grandfathers. Truly such a transformation is not to be worked like some feat of legerdemain, by a turn of the wrist. Bayonets cannot do it; money cannot do it." It can best be done by teachers, "men and women with enthusiasm and sympathy, not learned but wise. The teachers we need are helpers, farmers and nurses, who may not know how to write ideal reports but do know how to trust and secure trust."

These quotations are from the annual report of the Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane. Surely he must realize, if ever he has time to take stock of himself, that a man may know a lot of other things and still know how to write an ideal report. How many years is it since you have discovered, in any departmental document sent out from Washington, such sound and cheerful English, such a human liveliness? Perhaps it is only one year, for this is Secretary Lane's second annual report. Being in the Cabinet often enables a man to choose, when the time comes for retiring, among many attractive jobs. I hope Mr. Lane will choose to keep on writing the English language, and to let the public see what he writes.

Has the great war stimulated the sale of Anne Douglas Sedgwick's new novel, "The Encounter," which the Century Company published in October? The war has boomed Nietzsche, I believe, and Miss Sedgwick's Ludwig Wehle is a study of Nietzsche, a very brilliant study of his character, written with sympathy and pity and a fine sense of comedy. In her picture his doctrine has the place it deserves. She makes you feel, when she will have it so, that you are in almost blinding contact with his poetry and dogma. Miss Sedgwick's specialty is comedy with sympathetic understanding. She sees deepest when she smiles.

Even the editors of the *Atlantic Monthly*, although they are not timid men, seem a little nervous about one of the articles in their December number, by Edward Garnett on English and American novels. How, except as a sign of nervousness, is one to interpret this introductory note? "The author was invited to speak his mind with complete freedom. The reader must understand that his critical estimates are entirely his own." Mr. Garnett himself is less nervous, though there is a propitiating touch in his declaration that the editors "invited me to speak with candor." From those assurances, and from internal evidence afforded by the article itself, I conclude that Mr. Garnett has been candid. The trouble is that he has also been

his host has invited to say what he really thinks of the cigars. If he wanted his article to draw blood he should have avoided urbanity. He should have modelled himself on Mr. Michael Finsbury, whose motto was "anything to give pain."

Not that such a revolt against courtesy would have been easy for Mr. Garnett. His article consists partly of quotations from book reviews contributed to the English reviews, and these quotations are every bit as courteous as the paragraphs he has written specially for the American market. Although I've read his opinions with interest, I am even more interested in Mr. Garnett himself. He appears to have read more contemporary novels, English and American, than most of us could read in a lifetime, if we read nothing else, yet his mind has not been debauched. How has he preserved his mind? By some such expedient, no doubt, as that which saves the whiskey tasters. "After twenty years of hard tasting in the whiskey market," so one of these gentlemen begins, while we ignorantly await a conclusion more alcoholic than what we get, which is often a restrained, sober-blooded assertion "that the samples of Old Parentage submitted to me contain unmistakable evidence of having been stored many years in wood." Just as the taster's habit of not swallowing preserves him from intoxication, so some habit equally prophylactic, and more mysterious, preserves the professional novel-reader from imbecility.

This habit is not so necessary to the advertiser of novels. Its formation might conceivably do him harm. But it would keep him from composing a circular which Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons have astonished their customers by issuing. "Dear Reader," this circular begins, "Over in Paris, right now, a woman sits in a little room stitching, stitching—hour upon hour, day after day. She is Edith Wharton, American citizen, writer of books, society woman and traveler. With her in this little room sit other women, also stitching, stitching, as the hours slip by. . . . She and her friends are paying them to sew for the wounded. It is characteristic of Edith Wharton that she should thus be found in the very thick of things, actively at work. All her life she has done the unusual. There was no financial need for her to write. But the force of genius compelled Edith Wharton to put aside all personal desires and write—because she had to, because the divine flame drove her to self-expression. Edith Wharton is read and loved in every civilized country of the world. Her books . . . are eagerly read by millions who want to know the truth about the world which Edith Wharton knows so well."

I like this circular, especially the "society woman" and "the world which Edith Wharton knows so well." I like the subdued pathos of "stitching, stitching." And is it not agreeably novel to think of Mrs. Wharton, who is a cold, deliberate artist, driven "by the divine flame" to write books which have made her "loved?" She has lived "in the very thick" of rather thin things, she has observed more than she has felt, has guessed more than she has experienced. To say that "all her life she has done the unusual" is to deny the lesson of her novels, which teach us that great and sedulously cultivated talent may make a little experience go a long way, that even in a rather light emotional soil a book like "Ethan Frome" may grow—a book where the picture of intense, singular passion . . .

Paul Claudel's East

The East I Know, by Paul Claudel. Translated into English by Teresa Frances and William Rose Benét. New Haven: Yale University Press. \$1.25 net.

THE East that M. Claudel knows is one of glamor and thought, a Japanese print done by a Monet. This series of impressions of pagodas and stone gardens and Chinese tombs, of the dim tangle of streets at night, the haze of autumn, the odor of grain, the perfume of the harvest, the vast and yellow river, bells and pine trees and rice fields, fuses into a shimmering picture of astonishing unity. In his wanderings through town and countryside the poet has absorbed and assimilated this East, and converted all these unrelated impressions into the color and contour of his own mystic soul. But always there is the sense that his own soul is much more real than the things he mirrors. And always behind the things lies the sense that they, too, are but the symbols of something which he sees through them. The scenes are only an interpretation to the poet of the mystery beyond, an iridescent veil upon which it projects its outlines.

For Claudel the East does here what his characters do for him in his poetic dramas. Read "L'Echange" and "La Jeune Fille Violaine," and they seem almost incomprehensible until the realization comes that the characters are but appearances, a kind of personal phantasm projected upon the screen of your consciousness to interpret to you the ideas which they represent. This is a very different thing from allegory. The ideas are too complex and subtle; they are as complex and subtle as personality itself. The characters are, therefore, not robust enough to be allegorical. The plays are genuine dramas with genuine characters, but with characters that are personal ghosts of ideas. This is the reason for the strange power and beauty of the dramas, with the implication that people are more than themselves, are inextricably woven with a thought and glamor that are deeper than life itself.

It is not strange that this elusive poet should have had to wait twenty years for recognition. Even now, when some of his dramas have been produced in Paris, and the "Connaissance de l'Est" is translated into English, it is likely that the beauty of Claudel's expression captivates, rather than the mysticism of his thought. His critics are wary about interpreting him. They know that he is a Catholic mystic, whose work is a "long pilgrimage towards God," but the symbolism of some of his plays is equivocal. It is interesting to find this haunting beauty in a man about whose outward life we know nothing except that he was for many years in the French Government Service in Cochin-China, and has served as Consul in Boston and New York. Indeed, it was while he was at Boston in the early nineties that "L'Echange" was written, with its curious American setting and its picturesque antithesis of characters—the dreamy poet, torn between the fiery courtesan and the patient wife faithful to every convention, and the deliciously preposterous American plutocrat, bluntly offering his mistress to the poet in exchange for uncritical loyalty. This poetry, written in long, grave, unrhythmical lines, with almost a Biblical imagery and detachment, has the same beauty as the imaginative color of the prose of "The East I Know." Long monologues, beginning far away from the idea and groping their way towards it, would seem strange and purposeless, did they not give the solemn setting for those ideas.

air and sea, but mostly they are bathed in light. So often the East is seen in the flaming opal of dawn or the deepening colors of twilight. Light is the symbol of the mystery towards which he journeys. The plays are framed in light, as in "La Jeune Fille Violaine," with its theme of blindness and recovery. Claudel sees the world of the spirit and the mystic searchings of the soul with the eyes of a true French impressionist. The universe, both outer and inner, is in its reality light; and things and ideas are vague contours, vantage-points and interpretations of the light that is through all things. As he says in a passage from his little sketch "November," which expresses all this poetic yearning:

"By the dark roads of the villages, among pines and tombs, and along the far-stretched fields, I am the setting sun. Neither the happy plain nor the harmony of these mountains, nor the alluring color of the verdure on the ruddy harvest, can satisfy the eye which demands light itself. Below in that square moat, enclosed by the mountain with a rude wall, the air and the water burn with a mysterious fire. I see a gold so beautiful that all nature seems to me a dead mass; in comparison with that light the clarity which she can diffuse is darkest night. Desirable elixir, by what mystic route will I be led to participate in thy avaricious waters?"

"Fear and Conventionality"

Fear and Conventionality, by Elsie Clews Parsons, Ph.D. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50 net.

AN idler, who had read none of Mrs. Parsons's books, and who knew nothing about her, might be led to suppose, if he turned over the pages of "Fear and Conventionality," that she had spent her whole life in a library, taking notes. This rather short book contains more than five hundred references to authorities. Hardly anywhere can you read half a page without striking a reference to the author of "The Golden Bough," to the second volume of Dobrzhoffer, to Zeyneb Hanoum, Terence, Westermarck, Castiglione, or some contemporary treatise on "Manners and Social Usages." Mrs. Parsons's pages are stiff with citation. They look as if their author were the most industrious woman on earth.

This same idler, if he stopped to read here and there, would assuredly find some of the facts cited less important than others. He would wonder at the triviality of the less important. Among the shorter ways of saying goodbye are "tam tara," which is Abipone for "I shall see you again"; "roaroa," which is Fijian for "the morning of to-morrow," "au revoir" and "auf wiedersehen." The discovery of these facts, and of others such as these, does not make an idle reader glow. A passage like the following is hard to forgive:

"Among the Akikuyu a little girl is called *ka-ré-go*, a little boy, *ká-he*; a big girl or boy not yet initiated or circumcised, *ki-ré-gu* or *kí-he*; a girl or boy after initiation or circumcision, *moi-ré-tu* or *mú-mo*; a woman betrothed or married, but not yet a mother, *mu-hí-ki*; a warrior, *m'wa-ná-ke*; a married man, *wa-ka-ny-u-ku*. . .

and so on for half a page.

But it is not page by page that Mrs. Parsons should be read. If you read "Fear and Conventionality" through, you cannot help perceiving that she has put these odds and ends together so that they form a pattern. Her mosaic,

and the present which she set out to show you. Equally clear is her picture of the future, again in mosaic, patiently formed by placing side by side the opposites of truths which once were, and which are now fast losing their truth. Her book is chiefly a description of the conventionalities, the "customs in decomposition, more or less conscious of their own decay," which more or less gregarious societies have erected as barriers against the direct action of personality. In a concluding chapter called "An Unconventional Society," he foresees "a society in which so much of our fear of one another will have disappeared," and of which the *raison d'être* will be "the play of personality upon personality." Mrs. Parsons looks forward to a time when, "unsuspicious of one another, unafraid of mutual influences, men and women will no longer avoid one another because they are different," but "will seek one another for the stimulus of their very differences, natural differences."

Perhaps one would not quarrel with the overabundance of the details which Mrs. Parsons has lavished upon us in the hope of impressing her meaning upon our stupidest, if they had not so nearly excluded her from her own book. By how much she overestimates the importance of many of her facts, by so much does she undervalue the importance of her own comments, which she is as likely as not to hide in footnotes, where she often scores neatly. It is in a footnote that we read: "A lady is told, for example, that she 'should not be under obligation to a man for presents that plainly represent a considerable money value' (Morton, p. 206), the idea being, I suppose, that her favors are purchasable."

But such few impressions of the author as one does get from this book are distinct impressions. She is not merely the laborious note-taker and the efficient arranger of notes who produced "Fear and Conventionality" in collaboration. She has found time to meet a great many men and women, to travel and to lead an outdoor life. Her method of composition reveals her as a humorist. She lays a fact about manners and customs in Uganda alongside an analogous fact about manners and customs in New York. From this juxtaposition she derives a remote, private, *pince-sans-rire* sort of amusement. And she is amused, too, not only by the relation between the Uganda fact and the New York fact, but by the New York fact in itself. She watches her contemporaries with cool detachment, and makes without smiling endless notes about their little ways. But though she never smiles, she is mirthlessly diverted, quite as diverted when her models move in her own world as when they don't. She likes the resemblances between our American behavior, in high circles or circles not quite so high, and the behavior of savage tribes. It would please her to read, in the third volume of Warazynkowski on the Trantesians, his description of the after-dinner ceremonial:

"When the meal is over, and the women have withdrawn a little space into the forest, the chiefs sit together for about half an hour, smoking and drinking small cups of k'nàk. Then the chief who pays for the feast rises and exclaims, 'Glow'n-f-ar-m'nas'?* The others rise also, and precede their host to that part of the forest where the women are assembled, engaged in various occupations designed to screen their expectancy. When a chief draws near one of the women, she always looks up and says to him, 'El-ney-et-m'wan'?†

*Trantesian for "Shall we join the ladies?"

†Trantesian for "Well, have you been settling the affairs of the nation?"

have finished. Was she born calm? Or did she stalk this Final Imperturbability through patient years before running it down? It is hers now, no matter how she came by it. Impossible to catch her off her guard, whether she be at Cody in Wyoming, on the Gold Coast, at dinner in New York, in Tokio or Seringapatum. By extracting many books and making many notes, by arranging and remembering, she has mastered the natural history of the right thing, curiously, a little disdainfully. In all countries she could choose, in the light of full knowledge, between observing and ignoring their conventions, herself a free spirit even in the act of conformity. Nothing could be more deliberate than either the conformity or the freedom. She would be as free when conforming in Thibet as when she was in New York and non-conforming; no freer when she declined to say, despite the wistful look in the eyes of the New Yorker on her right, "What awful weather we've been having lately," than when she broke fluently into the standard small talk of Senegambia.

Town-Planning and the Law

WE are too prone in this country to believe that anything like a bold application of the art of town-planning, as practised in Germany with such impressive social and artistic results, is impossible to emulate here because of the excessive reverence with which our legal and judicial principles treat private property in land. At a time when the intelligent public is becoming more and more attracted towards the ideal of a closer social control of city development, a book like Mr. Flavel Shurtleff's "Carrying Out the City Plan" is highly important and encouraging. Here we have the first clear summary and discussion of what the American municipality can and cannot do under existing law. And in spite of diverse state codes and judicial interpretations there emerges a distinct suggestion of progressive tendencies in legislation, and in the ideas that lie at the back of the court decisions on the application of town-planning principles.

The success of any town-planning scheme, whether it be concerned with the laying out of a new district, the construction of parks and parkways or the alteration of existing streets, depends upon the ability of the city to acquire land easily, to control the street plans, and, to a considerable extent, upon the class of buildings to be erected upon them. Overshadowing the whole practice there is, of course, the universal constitutional limitation of the power of eminent domain, namely, that land cannot be taken unless necessary for the public use. Furthermore, it must be for a specific public use. This principle at once limits seriously the power of the municipality in its efforts effectively to control its own growth, and design the building-up of the city and the public improvements which it undertakes. Although this strict provision of a specified use does prevent the abandonment of a town-planning project when once the land has been acquired, yet, on the other hand, it possesses the grave disadvantage of preventing the city from acquiring land at favorable opportunities and then holding it against the day when it will be required for public purposes as yet unspecified. As a consequence, the principle of "excess condemnation," or the condemning of more land than is required for the public improvement, in order either to control its development or to sell it again and obtain for the city the increased valuation, has been declared unconstitutional in

To obtain its share of the increased valuation, the American city has almost universally preferred the method of "special assessment," by which the cost of the improvement is borne by the property benefited. From the financial point of view this may be an adequate substitute for excess condemnation. But from the town-planning point of view, as Mr. Shurtleff rightly finds, this constitutional limitation is a serious disadvantage. The value of a new parkway, for instance, and of the land about it, is often largely nullified by the fact that contiguous property is left cut into small remnants of lots that are unavailable for building, or available only for structures of a character unsuited to the parkway. Consequently there is a good deal of sentiment among American town-planners for the adoption of the French method of allowing the city also to condemn all such remnants.

Until that is done, or the principle of excess condemnation is otherwise incorporated into American law, it is encouraging to learn that much the same result may be obtained by the city through the purchase or condemnation of easements on the property fronting the improvements. In this way the city obtains the power to prescribe whatever it wishes, even to the extent of requiring, as in the case of certain Boston parkways, the approval by the public authority of the architectural designs in detail. Notwithstanding the disadvantage that such easements, to be of the highest effectiveness, must sometimes cost almost as much as the property itself, the idea suggests unsuspected possibilities and powers latent in the municipality, which, intelligently and courageously used, could ensure to our newer parkways and boulevards as fine and consistent an architectural character as the well-planned European cities present.

It is these indirect means of control over town development which are easiest and most effective, and the success of town-planning depends largely upon their deliberate use. Many of the same means of exercising control over the laying out of new streets and the building up of districts, exist already here which, utilized by the German authorities, have produced the striking beauty and opulence of their newer cities. The simple process of not accepting a street officially until the buildings on both sides have been finished has done more in Germany to secure the fine homogeneity of the solidly built blocks in the newer suburbs than any official compulsion could have done. American cities also may use their power of supervising street plans to secure similar results. In Massachusetts, for instance, the development company may be bonded to insure the carrying out of the approved plan. One effective means of control is to refuse for record any plan of proposed streets or lots which has not been approved by the municipal authorities. This refusal to accept as a highway a non-conforming street throws all the cost of maintenance upon the owners of the property, and thus, while it does not act as an official prohibition, is, at any rate, an effective discouragement.

These indirect methods of control certainly seem more promising than the uncertain extension of the police power. The time will perhaps come when the common sense of the community and the courts will consider standards of beauty worthy to rank with those of safety, health and morals, in whose interest the police power is at present exercised. But thus far all attempts to suppress, for instance, the billboard nuisance have been thwarted by the courts' refusal to legitimize the use of the police power to guard the amenities of life. The most valuable use of

Supreme Court itself has ratified the limitation on the heights of buildings; and the creation of building zones, in which the relative heights are regulated by ordinance, has also been held legal. The courts' interpretation of the police power is constantly growing as public opinion enlarges its idea of what constitutes a "nuisance." Who knows that the time may not come when the ugly and dilapidated will seem as sure a violation of social comfort and decency as the present offenses which are outlawed by the state?

The conclusion is irresistible from Mr. Shurtleff's book, which is said rather to understate than to overstate the situation, that it is not so much the power that we lack in this country to make fine cities, as the will and the knowledge.

R. S. B.

A Danish Epic

Pelle the Conqueror: Boyhood, Apprenticeship, by Martin Andersen Nexø. New York: Henry Holt & Company. \$1.40 net, each volume.

FROM the moment when the Swedish boat lands little Pelle and his old father Lasse on the shores of the island of Bornholm, our imaginations are caught in this northern world which, strange as it is in its primitive simplicity, is yet made glowingly real by the sympathy of genius. Few foreign stories place you more seductively in the very heart of the life they depict than this epic of a workingman's life in modern Denmark. Only a rare spiritual fidelity to personal experience could produce the color and movement and wisdom and good-will of this story. We are told that the author was himself a shoemaker's apprentice in the Baltic island, and then, like Pelle, was sucked away into the many-towered capital. Here he worked as a bricklayer until he was rescued by one of the "people's high schools," those wonderful Danish popular universities scattered about the land, where farmers and bricklayers, kitchen-maids and clerks, come to spend a few arduous and fascinated months of their lives in the study—oh, these sober northern people!—of history and literature. This education permitted him to become a teacher, then the author of short stories and a book of reminiscences of a bright Spanish trip, and now there comes from him this four-volume story of his own life or the lives of such as he, the first volume of which, appearing in 1906, has already become almost a Danish classic.

The two volumes which have been translated into English take Pelle to the time when he leaves his island to seek his fortune in Copenhagen. The life of the boy and his simple, patient old father as farm laborers at Stone Farm, with its background of wind-swept heath and the distant sea; the rough, jovial society of milkmaids and stablemen, with the fierce irascibility of these little-tamed Norsemen; the holidays and the drunkenness and the lovemaking; the mystery of the old farmhouse with its kind, sensual master and the woe of the jealous mistress; the grim old Protestant superstitions of the community; the life of the small farmers lived so hardily against a cold and niggardly nature; the reiterated themes of peasant life, the wresting of a homestead from the moor, the seductions, the fatalistic waiting of the old people for death; all this, seen through the aimless play and riotous imagination of childhood, makes "Boyhood" a book of such charm that one scarcely knows whether to admire

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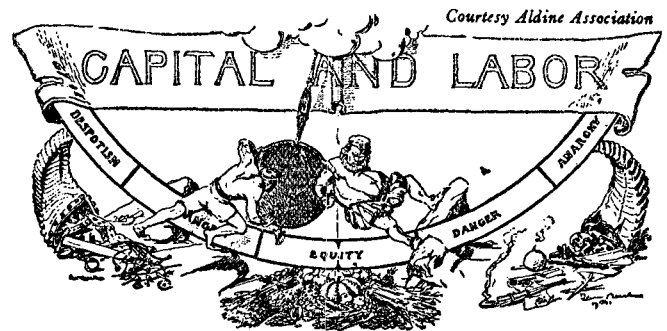
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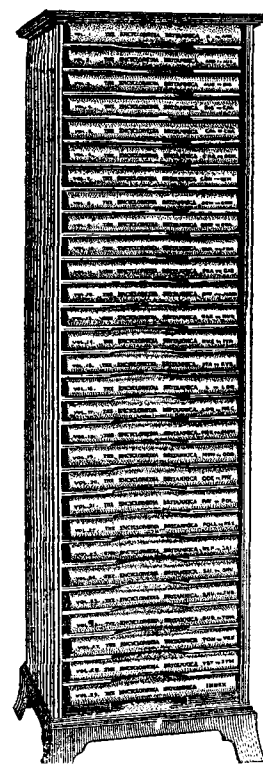
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